Thursday, March 12, 1953

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

OFFICIAL REPORT

PARLIAMENT SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI

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THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part I—Questions and Answers)

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Thursday, 12th March, 1953

The House met at Two of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

FLYING CLUBS

*703. **Shri S. C. Samanta**: Will the Minister of **Communications** be pleased to state:

(a) the amount granted by Government to each of the Flying Clubs in India in 1952 to train pilots;

(b) how many pilots and of which class were trained in those clubs since 1947; and

(c) how many such trained pilots and of which categories, are at present out of employment?

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): (a) to (c). I lay on the Table a statement giving the required information. [*See* Appendix V, annexure No. 20.]

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether these flying clubs bear the total expenses of the trainees?

Shri Raj Bahadur: Of course, but the trainees also have to pay something as fees or subscription which also goes to meet the expenditure of the club and the training.

Shri S. C. Samanta: I want to know whether the club bears the whole expense of the trainees.

Shri Raj Bahadur: A Club has its own resources. It receives subsidies from the Central Government and the State Government concerned and from that the expenses are defrayed.

Shri Kasliwal: How many flying clubs are there in India?

Shri Raj Bahadur: There are 11 flying clubs.

Shri B. S. Murthy: May I know the contribution of the State Government of Madras for the club at Madras?

Shri Raj Bahadur: Between the period 1946-47 and 1951-52 the Madras State contributed as much as Rs. 1,46,105 for the Flying Club at Madras.

Shri Punnoose: May I know whether there is any provision to find employment for those who are trained in this club?

Shri Raj Bahadur: As a matter of fact it is not the responsibility of the Government to find employment for all, but Government, of course tries its level best to secure employment for as many as possible.

Shri Punnoose: May I know if there is such provision to see that only those who can be provided with jobs are trained here, so that there may be no unemployment?

Shri Raj Bahadur: We want to encourage flying and the habit of flying as much as we can—and flying not for the sole purpose of employment alone. Those who take to it for the purpose of employment do it with the knowledge that there is limited scope for employment in the industry.

Shri B. S. Murthy: In view of the nationalisation scheme before the Government, would they consider the necessity of guaranteeing employment before they admit students for flying?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This is a suggestion for action.

Shri Nanadas: May I know whether the grants are made to the individuals undergoing the pilot's training in these clubs?

Shri Raj Bahadur: They are made to the clubs as such.

Shri Punnoose: May I know how many men have already been trained and how many of them are employed?

Shri Raj Bahadur: That is given in the statement laid on the Table of the House.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know how far the proposal to rationalise these flying clubs has materialized?

Shri Raj Bahadur: As may be known to the hon. Member, we had appointed a committee familiarly known as the Master Committee to go into the whole question, to examine the organization of the present system of flying clubs and the necessity for their re-organization. A report has now been received which is receiving our attention and is under examination at the moment.

Shri K. K. Basu: May I know what is the fee charged by these flying clubs for imparting training?

Shri Raj Bahadur: I would have to give very detailed figures which will take time of the House.

EXPERTS ON PRODUCTIVITY STUDIES AND SYSTEMS OF PAYMENT BY RESULTS

***704. Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the Minister of **Labour** be pleased to state:

(a) how many experts have been selected by the I.L.O. to assist the Government of India in the field of system of payment by results and productivity studies in the textile and engineering industries;

(b) whether they have arrived in India and if so, when; and

(c) how long they will remain in India?

The Minister of Labour (Shri V. V. Giri): (a) Five.

(b) Yes; on 5th December, 1952.

(c) As at present planned, four out of the five experts are expected to be in India until May, 1953. One has already left.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether the Indian experts will be designated to work with the aid of these experts from abroad?

Shri V. V. Giri: These experts are working. There are under-studies under them and their study is nearly completed. In Bombay it is still in progress.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether this work is part of the I.L.O. Technical Assistance Programme for the under-developed countries and if so, whether we have to spend anything for it?

Shri V. V. Giri: We need not spend anything, but we have to meet their expenses.

Shri Nanadas: May I know whether there are any such similar experts with regard to agricultural labour?

Shri V. V. Giri: Not at present.

PILFERAGE FROM RAILWAY WAGONS

***705. Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that towards the end of November, 1952 a gang of wagon-lifters who attempted to break open and loot the contents of wagons between Garbeta and Chandrakona Road on Eastern Railway, was detected by the Railway Protection Police,

(b) if so, what are the steps that were taken; and

(c) whether the steps taken have in any way helped to check and stop the pilferage from wagons on the Indian Railways?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shahnawaz Khan): (a) Yes.

(b) All the important goods trains are escorted by Railway Protection Police and Government Railway Police over the affected areas. Ambush patrols are also frequently organised in the affected areas by the Watch and Ward, Railway Protection Police and Local Police.

(c) Yes, crime has come down in this particular area. But thefts on Indian Railways still continue to be on an appreciable scale.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know in this particular case whether the dead bodies of the wounded persons were taken by the Police?

Shri Shahnawaz Khan: I do not have any information on the subject.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether these persons have been identified?

Shri Shahnawaz Khan: As I said, I do not have full particulars on this point.

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : क्या उन का पोस्ट-मार्टम एग्जामिनेशन हुआ था ?

श्री शाहनवाज खां : जरूर हुआ होगा।

Shri S. C. Samanta: Is it not a fact that a further inquiry was made by the Howrah Railway Police and the

local Midnapore Police and they have not submitted their reports?

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan): We have not got full information on the point. We shall gather this information and supply it to the hon. Member.

WATER RESERVOIRS (SURVEY)

*706. **Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Governments of Uttar Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh have made any survey of the water reservoirs already existing in the Bundel Khand Zones of the respective States;

(b) whether such water reservoirs can be easily turned into irrigating water reservoirs at nominal expenditure;

(c) whether any attempt is being made or is likely to be made to utilise these existing resources for irrigation purposes under the First Five Year Plan or otherwise; and

(d) if so, what are the plans and proposals before the two Governments in this direction?

The Minister of Agriculture (Dr. P. S. Deshmukh): (a) to (d). The information so far as U. P. is concerned is being collected from the State Government and will be placed on the Table of the House on receipt. The Government of Vindhya Pradesh have recently appointed an Irrigation Engineer who is expected to carry out a survey of existing water resources in the State including the Bundhel Khand area and the required information will be available only after the survey has been carried out.

श्री एम० एल० द्विवेदी : क्या मैं माननीय मंत्री से यह पूछ सकता हूं कि जिन वाटर रिजरवायर्स में अभी इर्रीगेशन का काम जारी नहीं हुआ है क्या वहां कोई दूसरा काम किया जा रहा है जैसे फिशिंग वगैरह ?

डा० पी० एस० देशमुख : विन्ध्य प्रदेश के बारे में मुझे मालूम नहीं है ।

DE-SILTING OF PORTS

*707. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of **Transport** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that U.N. Technical Assistance has been promised to India to cope with the problems of de-silting her ports; and

(b) if so, whether any assistance has so far been received?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shahnawaz Khan): (a) Yes.

(b) Yes. Two experts in dredging arrived in India on the 21st February 1953 and have started their investigations.

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : यह काम हिन्दुस्तानियों से हो सकता था कि नहीं ?

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Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know how many of our major ports are in immediate need of this de-silting?

Shri Shahnawaz Khan: All our major ports have adequate facilities for de-silting without any foreign aid. It is only the minor ports that require investigation.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Have any efforts been made by the Government to estimate the number of dredgers that are needed for de-silting these ports?

Shri Shahnawaz Khan: De-silting of minor ports is the responsibility of State Governments.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know how the services of these experts are being utilised?

Shri Shahnawaz Khan: These experts are going round various parts of the country and all the minor ports plus two major ports, they are surveying, namely, Vizagapatam and Calcutta.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know, Sir, whether Government propose to create a Development Fund for financing the development of these ports?

The Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri L. B. Shastri): That matter is under consideration and we have not taken any decision so far.

Shri B. S. Murthy: May I know whether the minor ports in the Andhra area are also included in the survey?

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan): Yes.

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि जिस काम के लिये बाहर से लोग आये हैं उस के लिये हिन्दुस्तानियों को शिक्षा देने का कोई इन्तजाम ट्रान्सपोर्ट विभाग की तरफ से हो रहा है ?

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श्री शाहनवाज खां : ड्रेजिंग का काम जैसा मैंने पहले अर्ज किया हिन्दुस्तान के जो बड़े बड़े बन्दरगाह हैं उन में हिन्दुस्तानी खुद कर रहे हैं, जो छोटे छोटे बन्दरगाह हैं उन के लिये हमारे पास काफी आदमी नहीं हैं लेकिन ट्रेनिंग का बन्दोबस्त किया जा रहा है।

Shri Nanadas: May I know, Sir, whether de-silting in all the ports has been carried out since 1947 and, if so, what was the method adopted?

Shri Alagesan: This de-silting is being carried on but to make it possible for these ports to be used all round the year, the aid of these experts has been taken.

Shri C. Bhatt: There is one Scandinavian expert who is going round and investigating. On whose behalf he is engaged?

Shri Alagesan: On behalf of both the Central and the State Governments.

Shri B. S. Murthy: May I know, Sir, what are the minor ports in the Andhra area?

Shri Alagesan: All the minor ports in the Andhra area, namely Cocanada and Masulipatam.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member knows the names.

Shri C. Bhatt: May I know whether he is going to intermediate ports also?

Shri Alagesan: The names I just gave along with other ports are called intermediate ports. There is no statutory name given to them yet but they are termed as intermediate ports.

Deck Travel

*708. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of **Transport** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government propose to eliminate deck travel on the Indian overseas services;

(b) on which overseas Service it will be eliminated first; and

(c) whether deck travel on the coastal services will also be eliminated?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shahnawaz Khan): (a) Yes.

(b) On the India/Africa service.

(c) While the complete elimination of deck travel in all services is our goal, it is not practicable to implement this in the near future in respect of Coastal services. It is, however, proposed for the present that increased space should be allowed per passenger on these services.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know, Sir, whether Government propose also to increase the space allowed to each deck travelling passenger on ships which go from India to Burma and India to Malaya?

Shri Shahnawaz Khan: Yes, that is the recommendation.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: What percentage of deck-travelling passengers are provided with bunks on these two lines?

Shri Shahnawaz Khan: At present none, Sir. But the recommendation is that 25 per cent. of them should be provided with bunks.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: When will that recommendation be implemented, Sir?

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan): This will be implemented as soon as possible.

Shri V. P. Nayar: Is it not a fact that in steamers plying between Madras and Singapore, people travel not by hundreds but by thousands on deck and may I also know whether Government are aware that recently one Mr. Parameswaran Pillai of Varkalai was injured and as a result of the injury he died during the voyage by this deck travel?

Shri Alagesan: We have some information of that particular incident, Sir, but space for each passenger is sought to be increased from 9 sq. ft. to 12.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : भारत और अफ्रीका के बीच में जब यह डेक ट्रेवल बन्द की जा रही है ऐसी हालत में क्या फर्स्ट और सेकेन्ड क्लास का भी किराया कम किया जारहा है

श्री शाहनवाज खां : जो मसला दरपेश है वह सिर्फ डेक की मुसाफिरी का है।

सेठ गोविन्द दास : मैं यह जानना चाहता था कि जब डेक की मुसाफिरी बन्द की जा रही है तो क्या फर्स्ट और सेकेन्ड क्लास का किराया भी कम किया जा रहाहै।

रेल तथा यातायात मंत्री (श्री एल० बी० शास्त्री) : यह हमारे अख्तयार में नहीं है कि हम किराया घटा दें। हम तो इस के लिये राय और सलाह दे सकते हैं। किराया तय करना प्राइवेट कम्पनियों का काम

CEREALS (PRODUCTION)

***709. Shri B. K. Das:** Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state:

(a) what special measures were taken during the year 1952 to step up production of cereals in India;

(b) how far these measures have been successful and what results have been obtained; and

(c) what expenditure has been incurred for implementing such programme of work?

The Minister of Agriculture (Dr. P. S. Deshmukh): (a) A statement is laid on the Table, which will show the types of work for which assistance has been given by the Government of India and the cost of those works or programmes.

(b) A statement showing the available information is laid on the Table. [For (a) and (b), *see* Appendix V, annexure No. 21.]

Complete information will become available only later in the year, as the operative year is July 1952 to June 1953.

(c) The sanctioned expenditure upto 9th March is 1791:98 lakhs. The expenditure actually incurred will not be known until two months after the close of the year in June 1953.

Shri B. K. Das: In view of the fact that the Grow More Food schemes are worked out jointly by the Centre and the States, may I know whether the hon. Minister is in a position to say how much expenditure has been incurred by the States? The Centre has given Rs. 17,91,00,000. I want to know the expenditure incurred by the States.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Sir, this is divided into two parts; Rs. 12,67,80,000 is by way of loan and only Rs. 4,73,37,000 is by way of grant. Now, there are various proportions in which the grants are shared. It would not be possible to say, Sir, the exact amount of money expended by the States. But, so far as Rs. 12½ crores are concerned, it is only by way of loan. So, it is for the State Government to spend the money.

Shri B. K. Das: May I know whether there is any proportion in expenditure so that when these loans or grants are made to the States any proportion is fixed for these schemes?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: There are very detailed rules, Sir, which are changed from time to time with respect to every one of these items. For instance, as regards supplying oil cake or bone-meal or making of compost pits and supply of other things, there are various rules governing this proportion. It was once upon a time 50 per cent. and in some cases 25 per cent.

Shri V. P. Nayar: Is it a fact, Sir, that since 1947, the area under cereal cultivation has slightly increased while the total production and the yield per acre have decreased and may I also know whether any measures have been taken to prevent this?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Sir, the figures quoted by the hon. Member the other day in the course of his speech were quite correct. At the same time, what I said about the trend of production in the other House was also correct. In one case we spoke about the trend of production, in the other case it referred to particular years. The fact is that so far as the acreage of production is concerned, the figures have gone down but there are very many contributory factors. There has been a loss of rainfall, there have been floods and all these considerations. Therefore, merely a smaller average yield per acre since 1947 is no indication of the actual trend of events. In any case, I would like to say that the Government is aware of all these facts and is doing everything possible to increase the average yield.

Some Hon. Members *rose*—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We have now the budget discussion and I think on every one of these important matters they can speak. They need not ask supplementary questions.

RADIOLOGY

***710. Shri Gidwani:** (a) Will the Minister of **Health** be pleased to state whether the attention of Government has been drawn to a speech delivered by Dr. K. N. Rai of Madras while presiding over the Seventh Indian Congress of Radiology on the 3rd January, 1953 in Delhi pleading for Legislative measures for the control and practice of Radiology?

(b) If so, what action do Government propose to take in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of Health (Shrimati Chandrasekhar): (a) Yes.

(b) The question as to what action should be taken for the control of the practice of Radiology is under consideration.

Shri S. V. Ramaswamy: How many institutes are there in India and are they all manned by technical men?

Shrimati Chandrasekhar: Sir, I have no information now. If the hon. Member puts a separate question, I will give the information.

Shri Gidwani: Are Government aware that many quacks are practising Radiology?

Shrimati Chandrasekhar: No, Sir.

CHITTARANJAN LOCOMOTIVE WORKS

*711. **Shri Nambiar:** (a) Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works was originally called Chittaranjan Locomotive Manufacturing Works and if so, when was the name changed and why?

(b) Is it a fact that not more than 50 per cent. of the parts of Locomotives are allowed to be manufactured in these works, while the rest of the parts are imported from England?

(c) If so, which parts are manufactured in these works and which are imported from other countries?

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan): (a) The works were previously named as 'Locomotive Manufacturing Works, Mihijam', but this was formally changed to 'Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, Chittaranjan' with effect from 1-11-1950 after the name of the illustrious son of Bengal, the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das.

(b) and (c). No. Except for some proprietary items and a few fittings that it is uneconomical to make in small numbers, all parts of a locomotive can and will be manufactured at Chittaranjan.

Shri Nambiar: May I know, Sir, why that name was changed? There was a question pertaining to that which is carefully left out. May I know why from 'manufacturing' it is changed into only 'Chittaranjan' Works?

Shri Alagesan: That does not take away from the manufacturing aspect of this work, Sir.

Shri Nambiar: May I know whether by that change anything was meant, or, if not, why that change was made?

Shri Alagesan: We wanted to honour a great son of India—that is all.

Shri Nambiar: It was stated during the debate on the Railway Budget that about 30 per cent. of the components required for a locomotive are imported. May I know what are the main items included in this 30 per cent?

Shri Alagesan: Items such as boiler tubes, boiler plates, which are not at present rolled in India, heavy castings, etc. These are some of the items which we are importing.

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know, Sir, what is the percentage of cost of imported parts in the total cost of locomotives, which are assembled here?

Shri Alagesan: I should like to have notice of that question.

Shri Nambiar: May I know whether it is a fact that vacuum ejectors piston axles, etc., are imported from abroad?

Shri Alagesan: If the hon. Member puts a definite question, I shall inform him about it.

Shri G. P. Sinha: Is it a fact that nowhere in the world does a locomotive manufacturing concern manufacture every part?

Shri Alagesan: That is so, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shall I allow the other side also to laugh? If the hon. Members put questions they do it seriously; if an hon. Member from the other side puts a question there is laughter. It is not at all right.

Shri Nambiar: How can the hon. Minister answer about the position in the whole world?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He knows the position elsewhere too.

CHITTARANJAN LOCOMOTIVE WORKS

(EXPERTS)

*712. **Shri Nambiar:** Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of foreign personnel attached to the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works Ltd., their nationality, precise functions, salaries, allowance, housing and other facilities and other conditions of service;

(b) whether it is a fact that these experts have been taken on contract from the Locomotive Manufacturer's Company Ltd. of Great Britain and North British Locomotive Works;

(c) whether it is a fact that it is these experts who draw up plans of production, prepare models, decide on specifications, fix targets and quotas and control production through control of time, speed, quality and quantity; and

(d) whether Government have enquired into the reason for the failure of the Chittaranjan Works to fulfil even the revised targets of production and the persons and factor responsible for the same?

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan): (a) A statement giving the necessary information is laid on the Table of the

House. [*See* Appendix V, annexure No. 22]

(b) Four British Technicians have been obtained from the L. M. Company Ltd. London under the Technical Aid Agreement and seven through the Colombo Plan. The German Technician was recruited through the Indian Military Mission at Berlin.

(c) These experts do their respective allotted duties, more or less in an advisory capacity. The actual work is being done by the Indian Personnel. Specifications are prepared in the Chief Loco Designors Office at Chittaranjan attached to the Ministry of Railways, which is independent of the Chittaranjan Works Administration. There are no foreign experts in that office. The seven British Nationals obtained through the Colombo Plan are employed as Rate fixing instructors and Demonstrators.

(d) The Government are aware of the reasons for the non-fulfilment of the revised tragets of production, the principal reason being serious delay and great unbalance in the supply of essential raw material and components planned from abroad.

Shri Nambiar: In the statement it is shown that the production adviser is paid £3,250 per annum, which is about Rs. 3,520 per month. May I know why such a large amount is being paid to one advisor when the General Manager of a railway system is only getting a lesser pay?

Shri Alagesan: Because he is doing such an important work he has to be paid that sum.

Shri Nambiar: May I know whether he has got any job to do with regard to the management part, apart from the advising part of the job?

Shri Alagesan: No, Sir.

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know whether in all locomotive manufacturing centres of the world British experts are also employed?

Shri Alagesan: I do not know, Sir.

Shri P. T. Chacko: May I know, Sir, whether Indians who were sent abroad for training have been appointed in this locomotive works and, if so, how many?

Shri Alagesan: I should like to have notice of that.

Shri Nambiar: In the statement it is mentioned that all the foreign personnel have been obtained on contract basis for specific periods. May I know what is the specific period—is it one year, two years?

Shri Alagesan: I think the agreement copy can be handed over to the hon. Member: I do not have the particulars at present.

Shri K. K. Basu: May I know whether the production plant is working at full speed; if not, what is the reason therefor?

Shri Alagesan: I think it is going on at full speed.

REVERSIONS IN SOUTHERN RAILWAY

*713. **Shri Nambiar:** Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Southern Railway Administration has ordered large-scale reversion of skilled worksmen of the Golden Rock workshops, car shed Tambaram, Marine-workshop, Mandapam and the various Loco sheds during the years 1950—1952;

(b) if so, whether the total number so reverted can be placed on the Table of the House;

(c) the reasons for such reversions;

(d) whether the quantum of production or the quality of work turned out in the above workshops have been changed warranting such reversions during this period; and

(e) whether representations are received on behalf of the reverted staff and if so, what action is taken?

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan): (a) to (d). No large-scale reversions were ordered in these establishments during the years 1950—52. However, owing to organisational changes and lapse of temporary posts created for specific purposes 16 skilled workmen in the Marine Workshops, Mandapam, and 22 in the Car Shed, Tambaram were reverted during 1950—52. Out of these, 9 workmen in the Marine Workshops, Mandapam, have since been repromoted to their former posts. The reversions have taken place consequent on the reduction in the need for men in the higher category in the particular units either through change in the requirements of the work or the cessation of specific work on which they were engaged.

(e) Yes. Some of the reverted staff represented against their reversions. The position was explained to them that they were engaged temporarily

to suit the needs of work and that when work did not warrant their continuance in the higher grades, they were fixed according to actual requirements.

Shri Nambiar: May I know, Sir, whether it is a fact that in the Golden Rock workshops there were about five hundred reversions from skilled to semi-skilled artisans during this period?

Shri Alagesan: Sir, it is in regard to the Marine Workshops at Mandapam and the Car Shed at Tambaram that I have the information: I do not have the information regarding the Golden Rock workshop.

Shri Nambiar: My question pertained to Golden Rock workshop also.

Shri Alagesan: There has been no reversions there.

Shri Nambiar: In regard to those who were reverted, may I know whether they will be promoted as and when vacancies arise or whether there are provisions at present?

Shri Alagesan: There are no provisions at present.

Shri Nambiar: May I know to what extent the nature of the work has been reduced to enable those reversions?

Shri Alagesan: They have been reverted because the necessity of those posts has ceased. As I said already, nine of these workmen have been repromoted.

Shri Nambiar: Has it in any way reflected in production also?

Shri Alagesan: No, Sir.

CENTRAL BOARD FOR WILD LIFE

*714. **Shri L. J. Singh:** Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state:

(a) the measures proposed by the "Central Board for Wild Life" for the preservation of fauna; and

(b) the steps so far taken by the Government of India for the preservation of the birds and animals of India?

The Minister of Agriculture (Dr. P. S. Deshmukh): (a) and (b). A statement containing the Resolutions adopted by the Indian Board for Wild Life at its first session and the action taken thereon is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix V, annexure No. 23]

For the information of the House, I may mention briefly the steps taken to ensure preservation of wild life. They include the following:

(i) setting up Central and State Board;
(ii) setting up an executive committee and regional Committees;
(iii) controls of the export of animals and wild life;
(iv) setting up of national parks and sanctuaries; and
(v) legislation by States.

Shri L. J. Singh: Out of the measures recommended by the Central Board for Wild Life may I know how many have been accepted by the Government of India?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Almost all of them are going to be implemented.

Shri L. J. Singh: May I know whether the boards envisaged by Government will be full-fledged Government boards or private boards?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: It will be a board appointed by Government.

Shri Kasliwal: May I know in which States the national parks will be situated?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: It is only a recommendation. We are trying to set up national parks. No place has been specifically kept in view.

Shri Pataskar: Is Government aware that the Kanhery National Park near Bombay is being closed for want of funds?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: We have no information so far; when the Board is actually constituted probably we will have the information.

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know whether any species of wild animals of India are now on the border of extinction: if, so, what are those animals?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: So far as I know the lion from the Gujerat areas is on the verge of extinction and so also the hippopotamus in Assam.

Shri Amjad Ali: Is it under contemplation of Government to legislate on the regulation and establishment of game sanctuaries in India?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Yes, that is one of the recommendations of the Board.

Shri L. J. Singh: I find from the statement that one of the recommendations of the Central Board is

the declaration of Brow-antlered deer called Sangai found in Manipur State and pigmy-hog found on the foot-hills of Bhutan both of which have now become almost extinct as protected animals. May I know whether the local Governments have been consulted in regard to the preservation of these species and what are their recommendations.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: I have not got their recommendations with me. I am sure, if they deserve to be protected, the Board will certainly take necessary steps.

COST OF PRODUCTION OF SUGAR-CANE

*715. **Shri Jhulan Sinha:** Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any attempt has been made by Government to calculate the cost of production of sugar-cane in India:

(b) the policy in regard to allowing of profit over the cost of production of sugar-cane and sugar to the producer and manufacturer respectively; and

(c) the causes of the disparity, if any, between the margins of profits so allowed?

The Minister of Agriculture (Dr. P. S. Deshmukh): (a) to (c). Yes. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research financed an elaborate scheme during 1933-36 to ascertain the cost of production of cane, but on analysis, it was found that the data were of doubtful validity. In 1949 again, a Technical Committee was appointed to enquire into the cost of production of sugar-cane and this committee also came to the conclusion that the factors influencing cost varied so widely from year to year, from place to place and from cultivator to cultivator that an average could not be validly worked out. There was also the difficulty that reliable data of costs were not available because cultivators did not maintain accounts. In the light of the difficulties attached to ascertaining the cost of production from data furnished by cultivators, Government have based their price policy on wider considerations. For example, if under a particular minimum price the area under cane tended to increase, that would be evidence of the price being above the cost of production. Diversion between the cane area and alternative crops would be another factor throwing light on the appropriate minimum price for cane.

As regards the price allowed to the manufacturer of sugar, the policy has been to take into account the known average costs of the raw material, labour charges, other over-heads and then to allow a profit of 10 per cent. on block capital to cover the risks and the profit element of the industrialists. Since most of the sugar factories were put up several years ago, calculation of 10 per cent on the original block capital in effect means a smaller percentage on its present value. The policy of Government is not to allow undue profit, at the expense of the consumer, to either the producer of sugar-cane or to the manufacturer of sugar but to fix such prices as will allow fair margins to all the parties concerned.

Shri Jhulan Sinha: May I know to what extent cost of production of sugar-cane itself is taken into consideration in assessing the price of the raw material?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: It is difficult to say to what extent, because, as I have already stated in my answer, the cost of production of sugar-cane is very difficult to determine. But every effort is made to determine what must be the approximate cost of production, and then various factors which I have mentioned are taken into account. I have deliberately given a long reply in order to explain Government's position.

Shri Jhulan Sinha: In view of the answer given, may I know what is the basis for ascertaining the approximate cost of production of cane; what is the machinery?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: The basis is very uncertain. We cannot get the data from the cultivators because they do not keep accounts, and from other sources also it is difficult to get them. But here we try to have as close an approximation as possible, and, after fixing it, we allow 10 per cent by way of profit margin and then fix the price.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या माननीय मंत्री जी को यह बात मालूम है कि सारा खर्चा गन्ने को पैदा करने का वैसे ही रहते हुए भी उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने गन्ने की क़ीमत एक रुपये बारह आने मन से एक रुपया मन कर दी है ?

खाद्य तथा कृषि मंत्री (श्री किदवई): मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूं कि उत्तर प्रदेश गवर्नमेंट की कोई गलती नहीं है, यह सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने किया है ?

सेठ गोविन्द दास : तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने सब चीजों का खर्चा वैसा का वैसा रहते हुए भी एक रुपये १२ आने मन से गन्ने की क़ीमत एक रुपया मन किस हिसाब से की ?

श्री किदवई : मैम्बर साहब को ग़लत इत्तला है कि एक रुपये की गई, एक रुपये ५ आने दाम हैं।

सेठ गोविन्द मौस : एक रुपया पांच आने भी किया है तो सात आने का जो फ़र्क़ है क्या वह जो गन्ने के उत्पादन करने में खर्च होता है उस को मद्देनजर रखते हुए ठीक है ?

श्री किदवई : मेम्बर साहब अगर यहां हिन्दुस्तान में रहते हैं तो उन को मालूम होगा कि सन् १९४८ में गन्ने के दाम एक रुपये चार आने थे, जब कि गेहूं वग़ैरह के दाम इस से ज्यादा थे। आज कल गेहूं वग़ैरह सब चीजों के दाम चूंकि घटे हैं, उसी हिसाब से गन्ने के दाम भी घटाए गये।

पंडित डी० एन० तिवारी : क्या सरकार को यह मालूम है कि बिहार में बड़े बड़े काश्तकार गन्ने के सब खर्चे का हिसाब रखते हैं और उनके हिसाब में एक रुपया आठ आने से ज्यादा खर्चा होता है ?

श्री किदवई : अगर यह सही है तो मैं उन को सलाह दूंगा कि वह गन्ने के बजाय चावल बोयें। उस से उन को भी फायदा होगा और कंट्री को भी फायदा होगा।

पंडित डी० एन० तिवारी : क्या यह सरकार की पालिसी है कि गन्ने की उपज कम की जाय ?

श्री किदवई : सरकार की यह पालिसी है कि सरकार न देखा कि जब गन्ने के दाम दो रुपये दिये गये, उस वक्त तो गन्ने की काश्त घट गयी, जब दूसरी चीज़ों के दाम ज्यादा थे और गन्ने की क़ीमत दरअस्ल एक रुपया बारह आने थी तो गन्ने की काश्त ३ लाख एकड़ बढ़ गयी और नतीजा यह हुआ कि पिछले साल गन्ना बहुत सारा खराब हुआ और कुछ जलाया गया। तो ऐसी क़ीमत बढ़ाने की जरूरत नहीं है कि जिससे गन्ने की काश्त ज्यादा बढ़े और कंट्री में उस का कंजम्पशन न हो सके।

श्री सिंहासन सिंह : क्या सरकार को मालूम है कि सरकार खुद गन्ने का निजी फार्म रखती है, उस पर गन्ना पैदा करने की कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन पर कितना खर्च आता है ?

श्री किदवई : मैं समझता हूं कि इस हाउस के बहुत से मैम्बरों को यह शिकायत है कि सरकार की तरफ़ से जो काम होता है उस में खर्चा ज्यादा होता है।

श्री राधेलाल व्यास : क्या मैं माननीय मंत्रीजी से यह जान सकता हूं कि जो क़ीमत गन्ने की सरकार ने कायम की है वह किसानों के हित में ज्यादा है, क्योंकि वह क़ीमत मुक़र्रर नहीं करती तो किसानों को मिल से इतनी क़ीमत नहीं मिलती ?

श्री किदवई : वह किसानों के हित में ज्यादा है और मुल्क के हित में भी ज्यादा है, क्योंकि यहां शक्कर के कारखाने चलने हैं तो हालत ऐसी होनी चाहिये कि शकर सस्ती मिल सके और वह बाहर भी भेजी जा सके। एक रुपया १२ आने या एक रुपये ५ आने में भी हमारी शक्कर के जो दाम पड़ते हैं वह बाहर की शक्कर से बहुत ज्यादा हैं। मिसाल के तौर पर मैं आप को बतलाउं कि अभी पाकिस्तान ने स्पेन से ४१ पौंड पर टन के हिसाब से, यानी २०,२१ या

साढ़े इक्कीस रुपये मन पर शक्कर मंगाई है, जब कि हमारे यहां शक्कर के इतने ज्यादा दाम हैं। तो अगर शक्कर के कारखानों को सही काम करना है तो मुनासिब क़ीमत पर शक्कर तैयार होनी चाहिये और उस की वजह से कम दाम रखना जरूरी है।

Shri Gopala Rao: Is it a fact that after a serious study the Technical Committee have worked out that the cost of production for sugar-cane will be Rs. 1-9 per maund?

Shri Kidwai: I do not know to what Committee the hon. Member is referring; but the matter was referred to the Tariff Board a few years ago, and they had calculated that in 1953 the cane prices should be between Rs. 1-2 and Rs. 1-4.

Shri Nanadas: May I know whether Government has made any attempt to calculate the margin of profit allowed to manufacturers of sugar on the cost of production?

Shri Kidwai: As no sugar price has been fixed, there is no question of fixing a margin of profit. But we have seen that when the sugar stock in the country is much more than can be consumed in the year, then the prices are bound to come down very much, and in the competition they will not get the profit that they might expect.

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल : क्या यह सच है कि उत्तर प्रदेश में सरकारी और गैर सरकारी फार्मों में कुछ जगहों पर १५ आने और १८ आने खर्च गन्ने पर आता है ?

श्री किदवई : यह तो मुझे मालूम नहीं है, लेकिन मैं यह भी समझता हूं कि एक रुपये दस आने भी आता है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All these can be discussed during the Budget. I have spent nearly ten minutes over this one question.

Shri Sarangadhar Das: May I know how the price of sugar-cane paid by mill-owenrs in India compares with the price they pay in foreign countries like Cuba and Porto Rico?

Shri Kidwai: 60 per cent. of the cost of sugar comes from the sugar-cane. As they are able to sell it at Rs. 18 or Rs. 15 a maund, the price should necessarily be much less than it is here.

LABOUR MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

*717. **Shri Kasliwal:** (a) Will the Minister of **Labour** be pleased to state what were the conclusions reached by the ninth Session of the Labour Ministers' Conference?

(b) Have any of them been implemented?

The Minister of Labour (Shri V. V. Giri): (a) The specific conclusions reached at the ninth Session of the Labour Ministers' Conference held at Patna in January, 1951, were the following:—

(i) Compulsory provident funds should be introduced in industrial undertakings.

(ii) Legislation should be undertaken for the creation of welfare funds in industrial undertakings.

(b) The following action has been taken by the Government of India on the conclusions reached by the Conference:

(i) Provident Funds have been instituted on a statutory basis in respect of six selected industries.

(ii) Outlines of a Bill providing for the creation of welfare funds in industrial undertakings were prepared and placed before the eleventh session of the Indian Labour Conference held in August, 1951. The matter is still receiving consideration.

Shri Kasliwal: What are those six selected industries?

Shri V. V. Giri: Paper, textiles, engineering, electrical, mechanical and general engineering, cement, cigarettes, iron and steel.

Shri Nanadas: May I know whether this conference recommended anything regarding the agricultural labourers?

Shri V. V. Giri: This conference did not deal with agricultural labour.

Shri Nambiar: May I know whether in the scheme of the provident fund, an equal amount will be contributed by the management and if so, what is the percentage?

Shri V. V. Giri: I think 6¼ per cent.

Shri K. K. Basu: May I know whether a time limit has been fixed for implementation of the recommendations of this conference?

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: May I know whether any steps have been formulated by Government in connection with the training of leprosy workers of various types as mentioned in the statement laid on the Table of the House?

Shrimati Chandrasekhar: All this will be taken up after the establishment of the Institute.

TELEPHONE FACTORY, BANGALORE

*722. **Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** (a) Will the Minister of **Communications** be pleased to state the names of parts of telephone which are still not manufactured in the Telephone Factory at Bangalore?

(b) Are steps being taken to manufacture these parts in the Factory?

(c) If so, what is the progress made so far in this direction?

(d) Has the Research Institute stationed in the factory made any contribution in the telephone technology and if so, what?

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): (a) Dials and Condensers.

(b) Yes.

(c) Experimental production of dials has started and shops for the manufacture of Condensers are being laid.

(d) Yes;

(i) prototype of a single channel carrier telephone system;

(ii) several prototypes of transmission apparatus; and

(iii) a new type of transmission testing apparatus.

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: May I know what is the planned capacity of the factory? What is the number of telephone sets manufactured so far?

Shri Raj Bahadur: The planned capacity of the factory is 50,000. The number of telephone instruments manufactured so far by the Indian Telephone industry is 45,658.

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: May I know if any attempts are being made by the Government to find a market for the products of this industry in neighbouring countries such as Malaya, Ceylon, Burma and others?

Shri Raj Bahadur: As yet, we are unable to cope with our own demand. But, Government is, of course, aware that there is scope for a market for the products of this factory in the neighbouring countries. We are, therefore, examining the whole question.

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: May I know if any attempts have been made to develop telephone equipment and other instruments such as single channel carriers, etc., and if so, what is the success achieved?

Shri Raj Bahadur: In answer to the main question I have already pointed out that we have developed a single channel carrier. It has already been under trial for a period of one year in the Guntakal-Secunderabad section. It has completely succeeded. We are therefore in the process of manufacturing 30 more such systems. We are also developing a three channel carrier system and other transmission equipment.

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: May I know how the Engineers employed in this factory compare with the Engineers of foreign origin?

Shri Raj Bahadur: They compare very well and they have done remarkable work in the field of research.

COST OF PRODUCTION OF WHEAT

*723. **Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay:** (a) Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state whether there has been increase or decrease in the cost of production of wheat as disclosed in the Washington Conference in January, 1953?

(b) What is the price of wheat to be fixed for the International market?

The Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri M. V. Krishnappa): (a) We have not yet received here a copy of the proceedings of the Washington Conference which is still in session and are therefore not able to answer the question.

(b) Negotiations about price of wheat under the proposed renewal of International Wheat Agreement are still going on.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: May I know what is the quantity of wheat which India is entitled to purchase?

Shri M. V. Krishnappa: According to the current agreement, we are entitled to get 15 lakh tons. That is our guaranteed quantity.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: What is the quantity that has been purchased up till now and what is the balance?

Shri M. V. Krishnappa: This year we want to purchase the entire quantity. We have purchased up to this time 12 lakh tons. For the rest, we are negotiating with the other countries.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Is it a fact that there is a complaint that the cost price is rising and therefore the exporting countries do not want to renew the agreement?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): The exporters are proposing higher prices. We have not yet agreed to that.

CINCHONA COMMITTEE

*724. **Shri K. C. Sodhia:** (a) Will the Minister of **Health** be pleased to state whether the Cinchona Committee have submitted their Report and if so, whether Government have considered it and come to any decision?

(b) If not, when do they expect to get the Report?

(c) What was (i) the personnel of the Committee; (ii) the duration of its labour and (iii) the cost incurred on it?

The Deputy Minister of Health (Shrimati Chandrasekhar): (a) and (b). Government have not yet received the report. The Report is expected by the end of this month.

(c) (i) The following were the personnel of the Committee:—

Shri S. C. Sen, Principal Quinine officer, Government of India (Convenor).

Shri P. M. Nabar, Drugs Controller, Directorate General of Health Services, New Delhi.

Shri A. Y. Swamy, Director of Cinchona, Madras.

Dr. M. Sen, Director of Cinchona, West Bengal.

Shri J. M. Sen Gupta, Statistician, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta.

Shri B. C. Ganguly, Assistant Accounts Officer, Office of Accountant General, West Bengal, Calcutta (Cost Accountant and Secretary).

(ii) The Committee was appointed in December, 1951 and concluded its investigations by September, 1952. The draft report is under preparation.

(iii) The total cost up to the end February, 1953 was about Rs. 20,000/-

Shri K. C. Sodhia: Are any of our quinine requirements met from imports?

Shrimati Chandrasekhar: No quinine is imported except some salts of quinine which are not manufactured in India.

CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSES FOR COAL MINERS

*725. **Shri Tushar Chatterjea:** Will the Minister of **Labour** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the statement made by Mr. R. L. Malaviya, Member of the Coal Mines Welfare Fund Advisory Committee that the Colliery owners are doing little to undertake housing construction for the Coal Miners in spite of the fact that the Government Housing Subsidy Scheme has been in force for three years; and

(b) if so, what action Government propose to take in the matter?

The Minister of Labour (Shri V. V. Giri): (a) Yes.

(b) While it is true that the progress made so far cannot yet be considered satisfactory, it is some encouragement that during the period September 1952 to 30th November 1952, applications from 62 collieries for constructing 1450 houses were received as against applications from 26 collieries for construction of 963 houses in the period September 1950 to 31st August 1952. The total number of houses for which applications have so far been sanctioned is 2423.

In order to facilitate construction of houses the rate of subsidy was increased in August 1952. The Governments of West Bengal and Bihar were approached to amend bye-laws for miners' housing. West Bengal Government has already done so. The progress of housing construction is being periodically reviewed and it is hoped that the subsidy scheme will be utilized to a still greater extent in future.

Shri Tushar Chatterjea: May I know whether Government have any estimate about the requirements of houses to be built for coal mine workers?

Shri V. V. Giri: I should like to have notice. I will supply the information.

RAID ON STATION MASTER'S OFFICE AT SEALDAH

*726. **Sardar A. S. Saigal:** (a) Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that 500 passengers raided the Station Master's office at Sealdah?

(b) What were the causes of the raid?

(c) How much worth of goods were damaged?

(d) What precautions have been taken to prevent recurrence of such incidents in future?

(e) Have Government made inquiry in the matter?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shahnawaz Khan): (a) Presumably, the reference is to an incident at the Sealdah North station on the 6th February 1953. If so, the answer is in the affirmative.

(b) The late arrival of a local train by about 18 minutes.

(c) The damage is estimated to cost the Railway about Rs. 60/-.

(d) and (e). The matter is under investigation and adequate action will be taken in the light of these investigations

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : इस में कोई केस चालान भी किया गया है ?

श्री शाहनवाज खां : नौ आदमियों को गिरफ्तार किया गया है ।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : उन का चालान हुआ था ?

श्री शाहनवाज खां: पुलिस ने गिरफ्तार किया था और उन्हीं को चालान करना है ।

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल : कितने दिनों बाद यह रिपोर्ट शाया कर दी जायेगी ?

श्री शाहनवाज खां : जब लोग रेलवे स्टेशन पर फ़िसाद करने के सिलसिले में गिरफ्तार होते हैं तब यह ला एण्ड आडर की प्राब्लेम होती है जिस को कि पुलिस डील करती है । जब वह खुद फैसला करेंगे तो आप को इत्तला मिल जायेगी ।

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल : मैं ने आप से अर्ज किया कि कितने दिनों बाद यह रिपोर्ट शाया कर दी जायेगी ?

श्री शाहनवाज खां : यह पुलिस की इन्क्वायरी पर मुन्हसर है, मैं इस के बारे में कुछ नहीं कह सकता ।

Shri Punnoose: I do not know what has happened. I want to ask a question. May I know whether police were called when this raid took place?

Shri Shahnawaz Khan: There was a police force of four constables at the Railway station. A mob of about 600 people attacked the station master and entered his office. The four men made first a mild lathi charge. Later on more police reinforcements were called.

Shri Punnoose: Was there any casualty?

Shri Shahnawaz Khan: No.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: May I know if these trains come late regularly or whether this was one case where the train was late?

Shri Shahnawaz Khan: It was just one isolated case.

Shri Nambiar: How can the late arrival of a train and the attack on the station master be linked together? It requires clarification.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We will not argue. Thieves and raiders have their own ways.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: The question is this. Is it a fact that many of these trains which bring in these clerks have been coming late and certain clerks have been given notice by their employers?

Shri Shahnawaz Khan: As I said before, it was an isolated case. The reason for this delay was that the inter-locking gear went out of order as a result of which the train was detained for about 18 minutes.

Accidents in Coal-Fields

*727. **Shri Vittal Rao:** (a) Will the Minister of **Labour** be pleased to state the number of fatal accidents that occurred in the coal-fields in India during the year 1952?

(b) What are the steps that have been taken by the Chief Inspector of Mines for reducing the accidents in the fields?

(c) How far have those been implemented in the collieries, the names of the collieries that have yet to imple-

ment the instructions of the Chief Inspector of Mines?

The Minister of Labour (Shri V. V. Giri): (a) 288.

(b) and (c). Enquiries were held into all these fatal accidents by the Department of Mines. The safety of all the operations carried on in mines is governed by the Mines Act, and the regulations, rules and bye-laws framed thereunder, which are quite comprehensive. Inspections were made to enforce these provisions and action taken against offenders. In the light of this, no question of lack of implementation of any instruction of the Chief Inspector of Mines arises.

Shri Vittal Rao: May I know the number of cases wherein prosecutions were launched against pit managers for dereliction of duty?

Shri V. V. Giri: There have been many prosecutions

Shri Vittal Rao: May I know in how many cases enquiries were conducted by visiting the actual place of accident underground and the number of cases where enquiry was conducted on the surface with the aid of maps?

Shri V. V. Giri: I would like to have notice.

Shri Raghavaiah: May I know whether these accidents are on the increase or on the decrease?

Shri V. V. Giri: I think, on the decrease.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Question-hour is over.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

TIS HAZARI TELEPHONE EXCHANGE

*716. **Shri K. G. Deshmukh:** Will the Minister of **Communications** be pleased to state:

(a) what is the initial capacity of providing telephone lines, of the new Telephone Exchange, opened in Old Delhi on the 24th January, 1953; and

(b) whether this new Telephone Exchange will fulfil the needs of the people from that area?

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): (a) 2,900 lines; the capacity will be increased to 4,000 lines by the middle of the current year.

(b) Not fully.

GORAKHPUR—THUTHIBARI RAILWAY LINE

*728. **Shri H. S. Prasad:** (a) Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state whether the Railway Ministry have received a proposal from the Government of Uttar Pradesh for the opening of a Railway line from Gorakhpur to Thuthibari *via* Mahrajganj?

(b) If so, do Government propose to construct the said Railway line?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shahnawaz Khan): (a) The reply is in the affirmative.

(b) Not at present

ENFORCEMENT OF PROVIDENT FUND SCHEME

*729. **Shri K. Subrahmanyam:** (a) Will the Minister of **Labour** be pleased to state whether Government consider embroidery mills as part and parcel of the textile industry or not?

(b) Is it a fact that the only two embroidery mills in India are situated in Chheharta in Amritsar District?

(c) Is it a fact that both these mills have not enforced the Provident Fund Scheme despite the repeated demands of the workers?

(d) Is it also a fact that protests by workers to the Labour Commissioner did not also have any effect?

The Minister of Labour (Shri V. V. Giri): (a) Yes.

(b) No. In addition to the two embroidery mills situated in Chheharta in Amritsar District, there is also one embroidery mill at Delhi.

(c) No. It has been reported that Provident Fund schemes on the lines of the Employees' Provident Funds Scheme, 1952—but offering more liberal terms to the employees have been introduced in the embroidery mills at Chheharta and collection of provident fund contributions started from November, 1952.

(d) Does not arise.

TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATIONS IN CHITTORGARH DISTRICT

*730. **Shri U. M. Trivedi:** (a) Will the Minister of **Communications** be pleased to state what steps have been taken to extend telegraphic communications in Chittorgarh District?

(b) Is it a fact that for people living in the sub-division of Begun the nearest telegraph office is at a distance of 50 miles?

(c) If so, what action do Government propose to take in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): (a) and (c). Four telegraph offices are functioning in Chittorgarh District. Proposals for providing telegraph facilities at all the tehsil headquarters are under consideration.

(b) The nearest office is at Chittorgarh, which is 36 miles from Begun.

JUTE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

*731. **Shri Barman:** Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state:

(a) the amount that is spent by the Jute Research Institute on researches in the year 1952;

(b) the nature of the researches it had pursued in 1952 and the quantum of success attained; and

(c) how far such researches have helped the growth of finer quality of jute to supplement import from Pakistan?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): (a) The expenditure incurred by the Jute Research Institute during 1952-53 was as follows:—

Recurring ... Rs. 3,94,111

Non-Recurring ... Rs. 8,91,044 (including the construction of the Institute Building Staff quarters and Farm structures)

(b) and (c). During 1952 the Institute had been pursuing research on the following subjects:—

1. Breeding and Genetics of jute,
2. Cytogenetical investigations,
3. Physiological studies,
4. Jute agronomy,
5. Soil and Mircrobiological studies,
6. Diseases and pests,
7. Substitute fibres.

Research is by its nature a long-term process and the success attained during a particular year cannot be exactly assessed. However, during 1952, certain high yielding varieties which have been found to increase the fibre yield by 15 per cent. to 39 per cent. have been evolved. Useful results have also been achieved in indicating the methods that should be followed for achieving optimum increase of jute production by early sowing, row cropping, utilisation of an improved jute seed drill, double-cropping and manuring with ammonium sulphate and potash. The Institute is also carrying out researches for evolving better varieties and is investigating the cultural, manurial, harvesting, steeping and retting practices calculated to improve the quality of jute.

REPRESENTATION FROM P. & T. WORKERS OF HYDERABAD

*732. **Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** (a) Will the Minister of **Communications** be pleased to state how many of Post and Telegraph offices have been opened in Hyderabad State after the integration of Osmania Post Offices with the Central Posts and Telegraphs Department?

(b) Have any representations from the Posts and Telegraphs workers of Hyderabad State been received by Government regarding the increase in their scales of pay to the scales of pay of the employees of the Central Posts and Telegraphs Department and if so, what action has been taken?

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): (a) A statement giving the required information is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix V, annexure No. 25]

(b) No.

ANTI-MALARIA CENTRES

510. **Shri Bheekha Bhai:** (a) Will the Minister of **Health** be pleased to refer to the answer given to supplementary question to Starred Question No. 51 asked on the 14th February, 1953 and state whether the State Governments have submitted the lists of centres for anti-malaria operations under the Indo-U. S. Project for control of malaria?

(b) Are the centres selected for anti-malaria operations the same where malaria incidence is the highest?

(c) What are the names of the centres selected by the State of Rajasthan?

The Deputy Minister of Health (Shrimati Chandrasekhar): (a) and (b). The information has been called for from the State Governments and will be laid on the Table of the House in due course.

(c) As already stated in reply to Starred Question No. 514 answered on 4th March 1953 Rajasthan is not participating in the Scheme.

TELEPHONE CONNECTIONS IN RAJASTHAN

511. **Shri Bheekha Bhai:** Will the Minister of **Communications** be pleased to state:

(a) the places where telephone connections are proposed to be provided in the near future, in Rajasthan;

(b) whether any representation has been made in this respect; and

(c) whether some non-official bodies have requested for telephonic connections from Udaipur-Banswara and Banswara-Ratlam?

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): (a) Public Call Offices are proposed to be opened at the following places in the near future:

(i) Jaswantgarh

(ii) Kankroli

Besides these, there are other proposals for opening of Public Call Offices under examination.

(b) Yes.

(c) Yes. During 1953-54, it is proposed to connect Banswara to Ratlam and to reconstruct the line from Udaipur to Banswara. In addition to these works, the opening of additional Public Call Offices along these routes will be taken up.

TECHNICAL TRAINING CENTRE, BANARAS

512. **Shri Bheekha Bhai:** Will the Minister of **Labour** be pleased to refer to the reply given to a supplementary question to Starred Question No. 1175 asked on the 15th December, 1952 and state:

(a) the reasons for not reserving any seat in the Technical Training Centre, Banaras for the Scheduled Tribes candidates;

(b) the money spent so far on the trainees there;

(c) the number of trainees who have completed their course; and

(d) the number of those trainees who were employed by Government?

The Minister of Labour (Shri V. V. Giri): (a) The information that was suplpied in answer to a supplementary question referred to by the Member on the point of reservation for Scheduled tribes has been found to be incorrect. As a matter of fact 5 per cent. of the seats are reserved for candidates belonging to the Scheduled tribes.

(b) Rs. 9,37,400/- (since the inception of the Training Schemes i.e. 1947-48 upto end of January, 1953).

(c) 1,538.

(d) the information is not available as there is no machinery at present to follow-up the careers of individual ex-trainees.

RAILWAY TRAINING SCHOOL AT UDAIPUR

513. **Shri Balwant Sinha Mehta:** Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to refer to the reply to Unstarred question No. 657 asked on the 15th December, 1952 regarding the permanent transfer of the Railway Training School at Udaipur and state:

(a) in what period and in how many stages this transfer will be over;

(b) what amount of money has so far been spent upon the initial cost of equipment;

(c) what amount of money is being paid as rent annually to the owners of the present building in which the temporary school is going on;

(d) what sum is proposed to be paid as compensation for the acquisition of land so required for the construction of the new permanent building there; and

(e) what is the estimated cost of the proposed new building?

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan): (a) The Railway Training School at Udaipur has been opened in the recent past to augment and supplement the training capacity of the Ajmer School so as to accelerate the training of the staff taken over from the ex-State Railways. For the next 15 to 18 months both the Schools will continue to function to expedite the training of the additional staff. The question whether the school is to be shifted from Ajmer to Udaipur as a permanent measure is under examination.

(b) Approximately Rs. 90,000/-

(c) Rs. 650/- per month for the building in which the School has been housed and Rs. 150/- and Rs. 100/- per month respectively for the buildings rented for housing the trainees.

(d) and (e). In view of the concluding portion of the reply to (a) above, no firm figures can be given at present.

RAILWAY SERVICE COMMISSION, PANDU

514. **Shri Sarmah:** Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that before re-grouping of Railways there was some time a Railway Service Commission at Pandu to select candidates for Railway employment in class III and IV of the Assam Railways; and

(b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, does it continue to function now and if not, when and why was it discontinued?

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan): (a) There was no Railway Service Commission at Pandu but there was a recruitment panel consisting of two officers to select staff for the Assam Railway.

(b) It was wound up on 11th February 1950 because of fall in rate of recruitment.

TAMLUK SUB-POST OFFICE

515. Shri S. C. Samanta: Will the Minister of **Communications** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of employees working under Tamluk Sub-Post Office (West Bengal) on the 31st December 1949 and 1952 (vear-wise); and

(b) the number of new Post offices that have come under its jurisdiction since 31st December, 1949?

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): (a) 13 on 31st December 1949 and 31st December 1950; 16 on 31st December 1951, and 20 on 31st December 1952.

(b) 28.

IRRIGATION PROJECTS IN BUNDEL KHAND

516. Shri M. L. Dwivedi: Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state:

(a) what are the various irrigation projects completed or under completion in the Bundel Khand area of U.P.;

(b) what acreage of land is likely to be irrigated in addition to what is already irrigated before such projects came into operation;

(c) what is the total amount of money being expended in this connection by the Centre and by the State put together and severally;

(d) whether the Central investment is in the nature of a loan or what; and

(e) how many of the projects have already started operating either partly or wholly?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): (a) to (e). The information is being collected and will be placed on the Table of the House.

PRIVATE LANDS (*Bandhies*)

517. Shri M. L. Dwivedi: Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the scheme of constructing small *bandhies* on private lands at Government expense as tried in Bundel Khand division of U.P. have proved to be successful;

(b) the number of such *bandhies* constructed so far and the area made alluvial this way;

(c) whether the scheme is likely to give more yield per acre;

(d) if so, what percentage of cereal crops are likely to be increased in the area where the scheme is in application;

(e) whether special sums of money have been sanctioned by the Centre and the State for this purpose under the First Five Year Plan;

(f) if so, what they are;

(g) the conditions imposed upon the land-owner for such land improvement by Government; and

(h) the enhanced rates of revenue, if any?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): (a) to (h). The information has been sought from the State Government and will be laid on the Table of the House on receipt.

There is a provision in the 5-Year Plan of the State for an expenditure of Rs. 46 lakhs for the construction of contour *bandhies* in Bundel Khand. In addition, provision has also been made for the construction of *bandhies* in Southern U.P. and contour guls in the hill districts of the State, in the lump sum provision made for these and other State Irrigation Projects of U.P.

RAILWAY LINES

518. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of new railway lines which are under construction at present; and

(b) the estimated cost of construction of each of those lines?

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan): (a) and (b). The names of new lines un-

der construction at present and their estimated costs are shown below:—

Name of Railway Lines	Estimated cost
Chunar-Robertsganj, Northern Railway	Rs. 249·69 lakhs.
Pihij-Nadiad, Western Railway.	10:57 lakhs.
Madhepura-Murliganj, North Eastern Railway	35·00 lakhs.
Quilon-Ernakulam, Southern Railway.	549·45 lakhs.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES (MEDICAL ASSISTANCE)

519. Shri Nambiar: Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the privilege previously enjoyed by the dependants of Railwaymen of Class III and IV, of getting free medical treatments in Railway hospitals has been curtailed, if so, since when and why;

(b) whether it is also a fact that the cost of medicine administered to the employees in the Railway hospitals is also recovered;

(c) whether the Railway administration are arranging to secure proper medical assistance to the staff attacked by T. B. and if not, why not;

(d) Whether it is true that instead of medically assisting such staff, the Railway Medical authorities are generally disqualifying for service such T. B. patients; and

(e) the number of employees disqualified due to T. B. on the Southern Railway system in the year 1952?

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan): (a) No. The dependents of Railway servants for purposes of medical attendance and treatment include their wives, children and step-children residing with and wholly dependent upon them and they are entitled to free medical treatment in Railway Hospitals on the same scale and conditions as Railway servants themselves.

(b) The cost of special drugs which are not ordinarily stocked in Railway Hospitals and Dispensaries and not admissible free of charge under the existing orders, is borne by the Railway servants concerned.

(c) Yes. The question of building Tuberculosis Sanatoria for the benefit of railway employees is under the active consideration of Government.

(d) It is not correct that railway employees are straightway declared unfit for service as soon as they are afflicted with Tuberculosis. Railway employees whether they are afflicted with Tuberculosis or any other disease are given all possible medical aid within the resources of the Railway administration for reasonable periods. Notwithstanding this if it is found there is no reasonable prospect of the employee being fit enough to return to duty, steps are taken to declare him medically unfit and terminate his services.

(e) 95.

PRODUCTION OF HIDES

520. Shri N. P. Sinha: Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state what was the percentage of annual production of hides of slaughtered animals and that of dead animals in the years 1949, 1950, 1951 and 1952?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): Data for the years 1949-50 have not yet been compiled. The latest available information for the year 1948 shows the production of hides to have been as under:—

Production	(Nos. in lakhs)	Percentage
Slaughtered	24·87	13·2
Fallen	164·40	86·8
TOTAL		

FOOD SCARCITY AREAS

521. Shri S. N. Das: Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state:

(a) whether and if so, to what extent scarcity areas in different parts of the country have increased or decreased during the last six months;

(b) the number of people affected in different States;

(c) the extent to which the Central Government have given aid, loans or other assistance to the State Governments concerned; and

(d) to what extent demands or requests made by them have been met in this respect?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): (a) to (d). A statement is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix V, annexure No. 26.]

UDAIPUR-BANTWARA TELEPHONE LINE

522. Shri Bheekha Bhai: Will the Minister of **Communications** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that telephone line from Udaipur to Bantwara is of temporary character having wooden posts;

(b) whether Government propose to rehabilitate the entire line; and

(c) if so, when?

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) In 1953-54.

FOODGRAINS FOR BIHAR

523. Shri L. N. Mishra: Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government of Bihar have made any demand to the Government of India for foodgrains for the year 1953; and

(b) if so, what is the quantity of rice and other foodgrains demanded?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): (a) and (b). Yes, Sir. They have asked for 50,000 tons of rice and 130,000 tons of other grains for 1953.

INSTALLATION OF TELEPHONE SERVICE AT KARAVAN

524. Dr. Amin: (a) Will the Minister of **Communications** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the former Baroda State had sanctioned a scheme for the installation of a telephone service at Karavan town in Baroda district before its merger with Bombay State?

(b) What was the amount sanctioned by the former Baroda State for this scheme?

(c) When was the equipment for this scheme purchased and stored near Karavan Station?

(d) What is the total value of this equipment?

(e) Is the equipment still lying at Karavan Station or has it been removed from there and, if removed, the reasons therefor and the expenses incurred by Government for their removal from Karavan to the place of destination?

(f) Has this equipment been installed or is still lying idle, and if so, the reasons therefor?

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): (a) Yes.

(b) No specific amount was sanctioned by the Baroda State for this scheme separately. A lump allotment of Rs. 4,74,814 was made for the provision of telephone facilities at a number of places including Karvan.

(c) No equipment was purchased specifically for this work, but stores were obtained from Departmental store depots as usual. The telephone equipment was stored at Baroda and the line stores at Miyagam (near Karvan). The stores were received towards the close of 1951.

(d) Line stores of the value of Rs. 3,300/-.

(e) The equipment is still lying at Baroda and the line stores at Miyagam.

(f) The equipment has not been installed. The reason is that the Branch Post Office at Karvan is manned by an extra-departmental Agent. A decision has now been taken that Public Call Offices connected to trunks may be manned by extra departmental agents provided suitable persons prepared to furnish a security are available. The question of opening a Public Call Office at Karvan is being examined accordingly.

RAILWAY CLAIMS

525. Shri K. C. Sodhia: (a) Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state the total amount of compensation paid and claims outstanding for the loss of goods booked on the Indian Railways during the year 1952-53?

(b) Have any losses of goods booked on Government account been sustained during the same period and if so, what is the procedure for the recovery of these?

(c) What steps have been taken to prevent these losses and what has been the effect of these steps?

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan): (a) The total amount of compensation paid on account of loss of goods over the Indian Railways during the period 1st April 1952 to 31st December 1952 was Rs. 2,39,37,618 and the number of claims outstanding during the same period was 69,894.

(b) Yes. Government Departments are required to follow the same procedure for preferring claims for compensation for goods lost as the general public.

(c) Steps taken to prevent these losses include strengthening and reorganisation of watch and ward staff; patrolling of affected areas by Railway Protection Police; escorting by Railway Protection Police of wagons carrying valuable goods; close collaboration of the Government Railway Police and Watch and Ward Supervisory staff; extensive use of Ellis-patent locks; improved method of rivetting wagons by mechanical rivetters. Importance of proper packing and careful handling of packages stressed through periodical campaigns. As a result of these preventive measures, the menace has been partly contained. But a great deal still remains to be done. As mentioned in the last budget speech of the hon. Minister the Ministry of Home Affairs has deputed a senior official to make an on-the-spot survey of the position of thefts on Railways with a view to evolving further effective measures to eradicate the evil.

INDUSTRIAL DISEASES

526. **Shri Vittal Rao:** Will the Minister of **Labour** be pleased to state:

(a) what diseases have been declared by Government as constituting industrial diseases in the coal-fields;

(b) the number of workers who have died as a result of the attack of such diseases in the coal-fields during the year 1952; and

(c) whether it is in the contemplation of Government to declare T.B. as an industrial disease for coal-fields?

The Minister of Labour (Shri V. V. Giri): (a) Silicosis and Pneumoconiosis.

(b) None as far as the Government are aware.

(c) No. T.B. is not regarded as an industrial disease connected with mining operations.

CULTIVATION ON RECLAIMED LANDS

527. **Shri C. R. Chowdary:** (a) Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state what is the production cost of foodgrains per ton on the lands reclaimed by the Central Tractor Organisation?

(b) How does it compare with the production cost of food grains per ton obtained in ordinary farming?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): (a) and (b). The State Governments concerned have been requested to furnish the required information which will be placed on the Table of the House when received.

RESEARCHES BY THE INDIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

528. **Shri Badshah Gupta:** Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state the main researches made so far by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research during the years 1951-52 and 1952-53?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): Yearly accounts of the researches sponsored by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research are published in the Annual Reports of the Council which are supplied to the Library of the Parliament. The Report for 1951-52 is under print and will become available for distribution after a few months while the Report for 1952-53 will be published early next year.

During the two years in question, the Council sponsored in conjunction with State Governments about 178 schemes on Agriculture, 135 schemes on Animal Husbandry, 5 Combined schemes on Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and 13 schemes on Statistics under the following broad headings:—

I—*Agriculture*—

A—*Rice* including breeding, seed multiplication, rice diseases, insect pests, manurial experiments on paddy lands, Usar land paddy, etc.

B—*Wheat and Other Cereals*, including wheat rust, wheat breeding, maize breeding, Mycological schemes, Barley improvement, Hybrid corn grains, Striga attack on Sorghum, Hylegumes, etc.

C—*Millet and Pulses* including Pulse breeding, Small Millets, Gram Wilt disease, insect pests of stored grains, Striga attack on Sorghum, Hybrid Cumbu, Jowar and Bajra breeding, Gram Pests, etc.

D—*Fruits* — Horticulture, Orange cultivation, Mango Necrosis, San Jose Scale, Survey, Cytogenetics of Mango and Bananas, Control of orange diseases, Research on orange borers, Citrus Manurial trials, Insect pests of fruits and fruit trees, Banana research, Fruit culture, Fruit preservation, Mycological and Entomological investigations, Cashewnuts, Date Palm, etc.

E—*Vegetables*—Potato seed certification survey, Potato storage, Tuber crops, Research on Tomatoes, Tapioca and Sweet potato, Improvement of vegetables, etc.

F—*Other Crops*—Research on Cardamom, Turmeric, Medicinal plants, Cloves, Drug Plants, Coriander diseases, Pepper, Ginger, Chillies. Zeera disease, etc.

G—*Soils and Manures*—Traceelements in Indian soil, Storage of fertilizer, Sewage farming, Green manuring, survey, Nitrogen fixation in soils, Phosphatic manuring, Manurial experiments. Rapid soil test, etc.

H—*Agronomy*—Dry farming, Mixed Cropping practices, etc.

I—Plant physiology.

J—*Entomology*—including test with D.D.T. and allied insecticides, Wood control, Termite research, etc.

K—*Mycology*—including virus—disease, Fungicidal sprays, etc.

L—*General* including introduction of economic plants, Presoaking seeds in nutrient salts.

II—*Animal Husbandry*—

A—Cattle Breeding including livestock investigations, improvement of important breeds, maintenance of farm animals in health. Causes of degeneration of Indian cattle, Camel breeding, Pilot key Village, Evolving suitable draught capacity measures for bullocks. Selective breeding and grading up of indigenous cattle, etc.

B—Goat and Sheep Breeding for improvement of wool, mutton, breeds etc.

C—*Animal* Nutrition including nutrition value of Indian grasses and leafy fodders, Influence of trace element, Standardisation of rations, etc.

D—*Animal* pests and diseases and cure including veterinary investigation of cattle, sheep and goats, Jhones diseases, Helminth parasites, Vaccination against foot and mouth disease, Damage caused by ticks, Indigenous drugs, Tuberculine testing, control, disease, etc.

E—*Dairying*—Standardising methods for analysis of ghee, Rapid determination of fats, Bacteriological quality of market milk, Testing standard, Cost of Milk production, etc.

F—*Wool*—Wool analysis, Washing and grading of wool, Sampling wool for measurement of quality.

G—*Skins and Hides*—Village flaying centre. Training of flayers, etc.

H—*Poultry*—Poultry research, Influence of climate on performance, Disease of poultry, Duck breeding, Defertilization of eggs, etc.

I—*Fish*—Rural Pisciculture, Pisciculturaj research.

J—*Apiculture*— Regional bee research.

K—Other miscellaneous Schemes.

III. (a) *Development. Combined Agriculture and Animal Husbandry. Schemes*, including Village Projects, Milk Yielding trees, etc.

(b) *Statistics*—including collection of marine fishery statistics, Improvement of livestock statistics, Requirements of labour and materials for cotton and rotation crops, etc.

THENI-GUDALUR RAILWAY LINE

529. Shri K. S. Gounder: Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the construction of the Theni-Gudalur railway line in continuation of the Madura-Theni Line, was reviewed in 1952; and

(b) when the construction work of the Theni-Gudalur railway line will be taken up?

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan): (a) Yes. It was decided to postpone consideration of this project.

(b) It is not possible to say at present when this line will be built.

PRODUCTION OF SUGAR

530. Shri Ramananda Das: Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state the total production of sugar in 1952, the opening balance of stock of 1952 and the closing balance of stock of 1952?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): The total production of sugar during the 1951-52 season was 14;97 lakh tons. The opening stock on 1st November, 1951 was 1:84 lakh tons and closing balance of stock on the 31st October, 1952 was 5;03 lakh tons.

LADY HARDINGE MEDICAL COLLEGE

531. Shri P. Subba Rao: (a) Will the Minister of **Health** be pleased to state how many students are in the Lady Hardinge Medical College for women, Delhi and the number from various States in India?

(b) How many applicants from various States in India applied for

seats in 1952 and how many were admitted from each State?

The Deputy Minister of Health (Shrimati Chandrasekhar): (a) and (b). A statement containing the information required is laid on the Table of the House. [See Appendix V, annexure No. 27.]

RAILWAY OFFICERS

532. Shri Vittal Rao: Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of class I and II officers on the different Railways of the Government of India as well as those owned by the former Native States, before re-grouping; and

(b) the total number of class I and II officers in the six zones on the 31st January, 1953?

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan): (a) 2260.

(b) 2322. It may, however, be explained that apart from the strengthening of cadres required on the Western and North Eastern Railways, the increase is due to the fact that a number of posts have been sanctioned on three Railways for purely temporary purposes which will be surrendered in due course.

EXPORT OF FISH

533. Shri B. S. Murthy: Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state:

(a) the total quantity of fish exported from India during the years 1951-52 and 1952-53;

(b) the different varieties of fish exported;

(c) the value of the same; and

(d) what steps have been taken to increase the export of fish?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): (a) to (c). A statement giving the available information is placed on the Table of the House.

(d) Fresh fish is not subject to any export restrictions but on account of the internal needs it is not considered desirable to encourage export of the commodity at the present stage of production. Export of dry fish also is not subject to any restrictions now. To develop exports of dry fish steps are being taken to improve the quality of the Indian product and for this purpose salt is being supplied for the curing of fish at Government curing yards at subsidized rates in a number of States. ...

STATEMENT

Export of fish during the year 1951-52 and 1952-53 (April—January)*

Quantity in Cwts
Value in '000 of Rs

	1951-52		1952-53 (Apr.-Jan.	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
Fish dry unsalted	201,471	1,18,49	214,191	1,97,42
Fish dry salted	210,200	1,30,71	172,660	1,09,56
Fish maws & shark fins	5,234	16,72	4,461	14,98
Fish wet salted	15,476	1.74	12,280	1,39
Total of fish	432,381	3,27,66	403,612	3,23,35

14.93

*Variety-wise classification of the exports of fish is not available.

EXPORT OF RICE FROM ORISSA

534. Shri Janardhan Reddy: Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Orissa is exporting rice to the deficit States of India at the rate of 1,200 tons a day; and

(b) if so, what is the quantity which has been exported so far and to which States?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): (a) and (b). During the four months November 1952 to February, 1953, a total quantity of 39,460 tons of rice was exported from Orissa to various States, which works out to an average daily despatch of 329 tons. The recipients were:—

Madras	6,840 tons.
West Bengal	30,500 tons.
Chandernagore	880 tons.
Mysore	1,200 tons.
Bihar Collieries	40 tons.
	39,460 tons.

IMPORT OF TRACTORS

535. Shri Sarmah: (a) Will the Minister of **Food and Agriculture** be pleased to state what is the total number of light, medium and heavy classes of tractors imported into India during the years 1949-50, 1950-51 and 1951-52 together with total value of such tractors imported?

(b) Do Government have any understanding or agreement with foreign firms supplying tractors to India for

training of Indians in their respective factories and if so, how many Indians were trained during the same period?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): (a) The total number and value of tractors imported during 1949-50, 1950-51 and 1951-52 are as follows:—

Year	Number	Value in Rs.
1949-50	3,318	4,37,56-750
1950-51	4,930	4,08,74,294
1951-52	7,148	5,98,13,925

Information in respect of light, medium and heavy class of tractors, separately, is not available.

(b) As tractors are mostly imported on private account there is no agreement between the Indian Government and foreign manufacturers regarding the training of Indians in their factories. The importing firms, however, are required to maintain an adequate number of trained service engineers competent to undertake proper repairs to the tractors imported by them. The importers concerned usually get their engineers trained either by deputing them to the manufacturers' factories abroad or by inviting service engineers of the factories for training their staff in India.

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Volume II

No. 4

Thursday

12th March, 1953

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

CIRCULATED on 27.8.53 Dr. Thatcher.

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

OFFICIAL REPORT

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Thursday, 12th March, 1953.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

3 P.M.

MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT

ARREST OF CERTAIN PERSONS

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have received notice of two adjournment motions, one from Shri Vishnu Ghanashyam Deshpande, on—

> "The arrest and detention of Shri Swami Karpatriji, Shri Hardayal Deogun, Organizing Secretary, Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha and other leaders of Hindu Mahasabha, Jan Sangh, and Ram Rajya Parishad on the 11th March 1953 under Preventive Detention Act in spite of a specific assurance that Preventive Detention Act would not be used against leaders of political parties",

and the other by Babu Ramnarayan Singh, on—

> "Untimely and uncalled for arrest of Shri Swami Karpatrijee Maharaj, Swami Harihara Nandjee Saraswati and several others in order to terrify the people of this town ....."

I am not allowing the last portion of it.

Now, when did this arrest take place?

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna): They were arrested early in the morning yesterday at 3 A.M.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazaribagh West): It is night, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Not this morning?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: 3 P.M. is night.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Was it early yesterday morning at 3 A.M. or last evening at 3 P.M.

Shri V. G. Deshpande: It is early morning 3 A.M.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Where were they arrested?

Shri V. G. Deshpande: Under the Preventive Detention Act.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: In Delhi?

Shri V. G. Deshpande: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Who arrested them?

Shri V. G. Deshpande: The Police.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. I would like to know all these things; I am bound to ask for information, so that I may be able to make up my mind as to what is to be done. The information given is merely that they were arrested. I would like to know whether the hon. Member has anything more to say.

Shri V. G. Deshpande: I shall state the information, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member will kindly answer my question. I

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

am not going to clothe the Centre with the responsibility in advance. I want to ascertain how far this Government is responsible for anything.

Under whose orders were they arrested? Has the hon. Member got any information?

Shri V. G. Deshpande: Presumably the District Magistrate, Delhi.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Why was it not filed yesterday?

Dr. N. B. Khare (Gwalior): They were arrested under Dr. Katju's orders.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member thinks he is extraordinarily clever and rises again and again. This is a serious matter on which I am asking certain questions. Certainly he is not helping us in determining this matter at all.

Has the hon. Minister to say anything on this matter?

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju): These gentlemen had been arrested under the Preventive Detention Act, which is the law of the land, and they have been detained, with a view to prevent them from acting in any manner prejudicial, among others, to the maintenance of public order.

The House is aware of what is being said, what is being done and what is being published, and I submit that the district authorities were entirely within their rights and acted very properly in passing these orders of detention.

The House is familiar with the procedure which has now been prescribed. Within five days, the grounds of detention will be handed over to the detenus, and then there will be an Advisory Board constituted—it has been constituted for the province of Delhi, and consists of a High Court Judge as president and persons who are qualified to be High Court Judges as its members. Before this Advisory Board, the Government will be called upon to lay all the materials which they possess in justification of this order. The Advisory Board will be entitled to make any such further investigation and inquiry as it pleases, ask for such information as it likes, and it will also be competent to hear, if it so desires, the detained persons, and then it will tender its advice to the Government. If the Advisory Board is of opinion that there is not sufficient justification, then these gentlemen, the detenus, will be released. If, on the other hand, it is of opinion that the order is justified, then they will continue to be in detention for a maximum period of one year.

I respectfully submit that this is, in the circumstances, a purely law and order matter, fully covered by the procedure laid in the Act, and therefore, it is not a matter really for discussion on an adjournment motion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I agree with the hon. Minister of Home Affairs, that inasmuch as special provision has been made in the Constitution regarding this matter, and in a detailed manner the Parliament has passed an Act, giving an opportunity to the detained person or persons to place his or their case before the Advisory Board, I find that whatever is done in the ordinary course under the ordinary law shall not be a subject matter for discussion on the floor of the House. Any amount of discussion, so far as this matter is concerned, will not enable us to come to one decision or the other.

However, this matter might have been raised even yesterday, since the arrest took place so early in the morning. I am not ruling it out merely on account of delay, but I am doing so on the other ground namely that there is the ordinary remedy provided under a statute of Parliament. In these circumstances, I do not think that I am called upon to give my consent to these adjournment motions.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): With your permission, Sir...

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have done with this now. I am not going to hear anything relating to this matter again.

Shri S. S. More: Not to this matter.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have occasionally done so. All that the hon. Member wants to say must be said before. While I am hearing, if any hon. Member wants to enlighten me, certainly, I am willing to hear him, but not after the ruling is given.

Shri S. S. More: I am not going to make any reference to this particular matter.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now that becomes hypothetical.

Shri S. S. More: May I submit that you are proceeding very hastily? My submission is that you should have...

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am afraid the hon. Member is not entitled to say I am proceeding very hastily at all. It was very wrong on his part to have said that. I thought he was saying cautiously, but he has said that I am acting very hastily. Certainly, I am not acting hastily.

Shri S. S. More: I withdraw that expression. What I want to submit is.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am not prepared to hear.

Shri S. S. More: You are assuming what I want to say, without giving me a hearing.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am not prepared to hear. I will follow this procedure. Whatever is placed on the Order Paper, I am prepared to follow. This is a motion for adjournment. I am willing to hear any information from whichever source it may come, and from whomsoever, before I come to a conclusion. After I come to a conclusion, I do not want to hear on that matter. That is what I am saying. I have done so, on one or two occasions earlier. That is exactly why the hon. Member wants to place something, after the order is passed. I do not think I am called upon to hear a representation regarding this particular matter.

Shri S. S. More: That is not with reference to this matter.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then it is a hypothetical matter, not arising out of this.

Shrimati Suchéta Kripalani (New Delhi): It is an entirely new matter.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If it is an entirely new matter, I would like that I should be given previous notice of it, so that I may come prepared with it, whatever the matter might be—instead of taking away the time of the House. I am willing to give any hon. Member any opportunity, relating to any matter of public importance, which can be raised here. I am only stating here, that on any particular matter which is raised, before the matter is closed, before I arrive at a decision and place it before the House, I am willing to hear any hon. Member. But after the decision is given, I am not willing to hear any representation regarding that matter. If it is a matter arising out of something already on the agenda paper, then I am willing to hear, as soon as I place it before the House. If it is neither the one nor the other, I am always willing to hear any information on any matter, previous to its being brought before the House, if I think it is necessary that I should hear the hon. Member. It is a question of time and of our getting through the work that we have before us. It is nothing more than that. I am not trying to prevent any hon. Member from making any representations or to say anything on any important matter. I shall hear him earlier, and thereafter if necessary, I will bring it before the House either on that day or on the subsequent day. There is no question of damage in this matter.

The House will now proceed with the General Discussion of the General Budget. Yesterday, the hon. Finance Minister was on his legs, while the House adjourned for the day. He may continue his speech now.

Shri Sarangadhar Das (Dhenkanal—West Cuttack): What about the second adjournment motion? You have not taken it up.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is the same thing. I have given my ruling on the motions together.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—*Concld.*

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): Yesterday I dealt with the question of public co-operation and said that I will proceed with the discussion of two other matters, namely unemployment and deficit financing.

The new lease of life that I have received has suggested one or two thoughts to me, in regard to public co-operation. It strikes me that sufficient notice has not been taken of the provision of four crores for social welfare which has been made in the Plan, part of which has been provided for in the next year's Budget. That sum is intended to be used for the assistance of social welfare work, particularly in regard to women and children, and the channels of disbursement are largely likely to be non-official organisations of which, we know, there are at least 6,000 in this country. Therefore, there will be forces of en-

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]

thusiasm and cooperation in many of these places wherever private effort will be irrigated out of the provision to which I have made a reference.

The hon. the Leader of the Praja-Socialist Party complained that there was nothing to inspire in the Plan. I would like to point out to her...

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani (New Delhi): In the Budget.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: In the Budget as reflecting the Plan. I would like to point out to her that the very first application and proposal that has reached us in regard to the utilisation of part of the funds I just mentioned comes from her party and that scheme is about to be sanctioned. We are only awaiting the reactions of the State Government whom we are bound to consult in this matter. That proposal goes a great deal in the direction of the 'village beautiful' movement to which Shri Tandon made a reference. I am wholly at one with him in considering that this idea deserves a very great deal of extension all over the country and if every village were to devote its attention to how it could remove filth and disorderliness and bring in beauty to their surroundings, then I think half the battle in regard to rural development will have been won.

Now, it will be proof that so far as the attitude of the Praja Socialist Party is concerned, it is generally helpful. They might disagree with us even in regard to ideology, but they have promised to cooperate where they can without doing violence to their principles.

An Hon. Member: When?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I wish I could say something more in regard to the Communist Party.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: (Gurgaon): May we know what is the nature of that application from the Praja Socialist Party?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: It is for improving a number of villages with the assistance of the labour of University students and the voluntarily given labour of the able-bodied people of the villages themselves. And this personal labour will be supplemented by a grant from Government out of this provision.

Well in regard to the Communist Party, I am sorry to see that they can see nothing good happening in this country. The Budget is dead, the economy of the country is half dead and all the activities that they show seem to be in regard to the burial of the corpse. Their attitude reminds of a Telugu saying which, I am sure, you would be knowing. (*Interruption*).

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East): *Apni kee bolchen bujhiye balun.*

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: We have not understood the meaning.

Shri A. C. Guha (Santipur): We do not know Telugu.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: It means: 'Mother will not feed you, and will not let you ask for assistance from other people'. (*Interruption*).

सेठ गोविन्द दास (मंडल-जबलपुर दक्षिण) : तो क्या माननीय मंत्री जी को यह बात मालूम है कि साम्यवादी दल जो यहां पर बैठा हुआ है वह चाहे हमारे कामों में कुछ तथ्य न देखता हो, लेकिन दूसरे साम्यवादी देश, जैसे चीन, हमारे कामों में बहुत बड़ा तथ्य देखते हैं ?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Well, talking of food, I might almost call the Communist Party the 'Cabab Brigade', that is to say, it stands for China; China execellent; Bharat always bad. Therefore, even though in China and other countries there is a certain amount of understanding of what is happening in India, so far as the Communist Party is concerned, as far as I can see, they can see nothing good that is happening in this country. And that is my only serious complaint against them. I have no right to quarrel with them about their ideology.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): What about Dr. Kumarappa?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Each one is welcome to have the ideology that appeals to him.

Now, in proof of this...

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: (Hazaribagh West): What about others?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I would like to refer to some observations in regard to the industrial prosperity or industrial production in this country. I believe Shri V. P. Nayar referred to my

statement as 'obsolete bunk and fantastic nonsense'. The origin of the last word I indicated. (*Interruption*)

Shri V. P. Nayar (Chirayinkil): If I may correct him, I did not say 'obsolete bunk'; I said 'absolute bunk'.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: That makes it more of a living issue.

Well, now it is an undeniable fact that all important industries registered increased production in 1952 and these include some of the main basic industries like cotton textiles, coal, cement, caustic soda, ammonium sulphate, iron and steel, paper, power alcohol, plywood, refractories, soap, sewing machines, power boilers, electric lamps, power transformers and electric motors. The figures of production of the above industries may be compared for 1951 and 1952.

There are undoubtedly a few industries which have shown a decline in production and the early months of 1952 saw the changeover from the seller's market to a buyer's market with a resulting fall in prices and purchasing power appeared to be at a low ebb. Three industries were affected by this fall in demand and their production declined. The shortage of sulphur affected the production of a number of chemical industries and the shortage of steel resulted in decline in production in some others. The shortage of electrolytic copper, labour trouble and competition from imported goods, which in some cases, enjoyed consumer preference were other reasons that contributed to a fall in production of some other industries. But I have no doubt that the over-all picture is satisfactory. During the concluding months of 1952 in particular industrial production attained very high level. The overall index rose from 127 in October to 137 in December 1952, an increase of more than seven per cent. in two months. And what is more important, in the same period, the number of man-days lost through industrial disputes declined from 3½ to 1½ lakhs. In the cotton textile industry where the peak level was recorded in production, man-days lost in the same period declined from 1,13,000 to 20,000.

Dr. Jaisooriya questioned the statement that there was no unemployment in the organised industrial sector. I have examined the figures in this connection and I find that in 1952 for which only provisional figures for the first half are available, there is some slight decline in employment, but unless we are to seek out the precise causes for this small decline, I think it would be rash to say that that is evidence of any growing unemployment or any decline in production.

Before I come to the general question of unemployment, there are one or two other small matters to which I think I ought to make a reference. One of these is the question of precise information and public accountability in regard to State enterprises. The question of the public accountability of State enterprises has been raised, as you will recall, in the Legislature as also by the Auditor-General and this question arises because of the form of management adopted for State enterprises. The adoption of the company form of management was the deliberate decision of Government to give flexibility in administration by the adoption of commercial principles and practices to provide for association of businessmen in the formulation of financial, commercial and employment policies. Government officials constitute, however, a majority on the board of directors and the evolution of policy is therefore brought in line with our thinking to the extent necessary and feasible. Now, the company form of management and requirements of public accountability are not a little compatible. Nevertheless, a form of accounts has been agreed to between the Auditor-General and ourselves which has been included in the articles of association which makes it obligatory for the companies to make available to the Auditor-General for inspection and audit their accounts and all other connected documents. If the audit by the Auditor-General reveals any undesirable features, then he would undoubtedly, in fulfilment of his responsibilities to Parliament, bring it to the notice of the House. It has also been suggested that during the construction stage there will be adequate financial supervision and satisfactory audit arrangements.

The question of setting up the company form of management before construction, is taken up and is separately under consideration. It has been suggested that the constitution of companies at an earlier stage provides greater flexibility and earlier completion of the project thereby reducing capital expenditure. Now, these companies have qualified auditors to certify to the correctness of the accounts and the business of the company and also certify that the

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business of the company is being conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Companies Act. Balance sheets and Profit and Loss Accounts will be prepared within 18 months of the incorporation of each company and will be available to the Members of Parliament and this will reflect the financial results of State management. In the case of Sindri, the Annual Report and the Profit and Loss Account and the Balance sheets could be available in April and that is the reason why it has not been possible for us to give any precise data or *pro forma* account and the affairs of these companies in the Explanatory Memoranda attached to the Budget.

There was also some doubt expressed in regard to the policy that Government adopt towards the integration of foreign concerns, that is to say, the integration of their manufacturing and distributing processes. Reference was made to certain observations made by my colleague and I believe they were torn out of their context. The point of his observations was that he would not be a party to see the extension of any such integration. In other words, I believe those observations were in the nature of the Government. Actually, there is no statutory provision in regard to this matter but in order to control capital issues we have an instrument by the help of which we can ensure that foreign capital is not engaged in those branches of business for which we have sufficient resources and sufficient talent. And, therefore, as a matter of practice, barring one or two exceptions in the public interest, the issue of capital by foreign concerns is not allowed merely for trading activities.

Then, there was the question of the employment of foreign experts. Now, this is a matter which is constantly being brought up and it is all very easy for hon. Members to wish to criticise this ,to reel off a string of names and numbers of the categories and the salaries paid. But there is no reason to believe that Government are less conscious of the importance of utilising our indigenous talent and that they are over-ready to import foreign experts. Let us not say that if one were to go through the matter with a comb there would not be cases where, in the opinion of some, the experts who have been imported would not be necessary or that the experts would be fully competent for the jobs for which they have been brought out. But, I do not think that any such finding would vitiate the general conclusion that experts are imported only in such cases where their presence is absolutely necessary for furthering our business. As regards the terms offered to them, since they do come from industrially advanced countries where the scales of remuneration, especially in the private sector, are high, it does become necessary for us to offer them terms comparable with the remuneration that they draw in their respective homes, plus some element of a compensatory allowance. Now, in one case —the Chief Engineer of the Damodar Valley Corporation—the emoluments are, as I have admitted, undoubtedly very high, but I repeat that that Chief Engineer is worth every rupee of salary that is given to him. And, indeed within a few months of his arrival here, he saved us an amount—by his competence and vigilance—which was several times his annual pay.

I come to the main question of unemployment to which several Members have referred. The first observation that I would like to make is that we ourselves are very much aware of this problem but it is important that we should be clear in our minds about the nature of this problem. There is firstly, the chronic under-employment in the country which has been there now for several decades and it has been aggravated by the growing population and which ultimately reflects the under-developed nature of our economy. Now, under-employment of this type is only another facet of low productivity which in turn is due to a shortage of capital equipment and technical skill. So the problem of removing under-employment or the securing of employment opportunities for all at rising levels of income is in a sense synonymous with the problem of development itself. The Planning Commission itself does not promise any spectacular progress in this sphere in the period of the first Five Year Plan, for the essential limitation here is the total quantum of resources that can be made available immediately. It is only as rates of investment and capital formation can be stepped up that a sizable improvement can be made regarding this problem.

Now, there are other problems of a temporary kind, that is, temporary unemployment which comes to notice. For instance, there may be a decrease in employment opportunities in the tea

industry—there is today—or in the coir industry; or diminishing opportunities in the handloom industry. In these cases, Government tries to do all that is possible in the circumstances, as it has done, for instance, by reducing the duties or the imports, or by stimulating exports, or, in the case of handlooms, by cordoning off for the time being certain markets for the industry.

There is another case of unemployment, and that is among the middle class. It is of a different kind. To a very large extent, it is an instance of failure of coordination between the system of education and the needs of the economic system. As it appears to me, a large and continued increase in the demand for educated men and women can come only from a quickened tempo of development of the economy, and as planning proceeds I have no doubt that there will be demand for personnel with various types of qualifications and training. Meanwhile, it is necessary to take steps to diversify and reorientate the educational system in keeping with the needs of our developing economy. To a certain extent, I must emphasise that the difficulties experienced by the educated young men in finding employment are traceable to a certain amount of reluctance on their part to take on occupations which involve hard manual work, or work in somewhat uncongenial surroundings either in cities or in the rural areas. The breaking down of these resistances is as important in an economy like ours in its present stage of development as creating new employment opportunities. But in regard to employment among the educated middle class as well as many other sections of the population, the problem is basically one of building up a capital base which will provide growing employment opportunities at rising levels of real income. Until we are able to build up such a base, more and sustained employment cannot be provided on any significant scale, excepting by drawing on the real incomes of those who are already in employment. That is as far as I can say regarding this very difficult issue.

I would like to make a few observations on this very controversial issue of deficit financing. It has come in for a great deal of attention in this House, and it came in for attention in the Upper House as well. The question has been asked what exactly is this deficit financing; how much of it has already been incurred; and whether the scale of deficit financing resorted to so far is particularly in conformity with the estimates of the Planning Commission. Some Members have also dealt with this matter and asked questions about the possible effects of deficit financing on prices. Precise and complete answers, I am afraid, cannot be given at this stage to all these issues that have been raised, because the factors which determine the effects of deficit financing are complex and are constantly changing. Therefore, it is necessary to approach this matter, not in a spirit of dogmatism, but in a spirit of humility, and one can only say that one has exercised one's best judgment in the matter. It is one of those subjects on which I at least feel that the last word cannot be said, or has not been said—at any rate, in the present state of our knowledge and experience.

And, this is the conclusion which even experts arrived at in a meeting of the Second Working Party of Experts on the Mobilisation of Domestic Capital which was convened by the E.C.A.F.E. towards the end of last year. This is what they say:

> "It was felt that despite the measures they had indicated for raising funds, Government may find it difficult to avoid deficit financing....."

Here "Government" means any Government in that region:

> "...which indeed has already taken place to some extent in some countries. The Working Party recommends that while, in some cases, deficit financing is not inflationary, the countries should take the greatest care to avoid it. It considered that the various factors which are relevant to decide as to when deficit financing becomes inflationary are: the size of foreign exchange reserves; the speed with which development projects will lead to the highest production; the sensitivity of the cost and price structure and of exports and imports; the efficiency of the monetary weapon for limiting private expenditure and the efficacy of other measures of direct control."

You will see that all these principles have only been indicated in general terms, and from the Report of this Working Party, our representative was inclined to think that there

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had been some shift in the thinking of the advanced countries on the subject of deficit financing. While still opposing deficit financing in principle, they conceded that it should be resorted to under certain circumstances, and indeed some of the delegates seemed to be quite enthusiastic about it.

There are one or two other points which perhaps might help us to arrive at a judgment and see the problem in proper perspective. Deficit financing, as defined in the Planning Commission's Report, represents "any excess of disbursement by the Government over its receipts from the public." One of the main ways in which such deficit financing can be sustained is by the Government drawing on its cash balances. The extent of the decline in the cash balances of the Government, which is easy to work out, is therefore an obvious measure of the extent of deficit financing. As I mentioned in my Budget speech, this has amounted, in the case of the Central Government, to about Rs. 82 crores in the first two years covered by the Five Year Plan. Comparative estimates for the decline in the cash balances of State Governments are not yet available, but when the State Budgets which are now being presented are analysed, we shall be in a position to say how much deficit financing there has been in all, through withdrawals from cash balances.

In addition to drawing upon the cash balances, Government can finance an excess of disbursements over receipts from the public by borrowing from the Reserve Bank. In the last two years, the State Governments have undoubtedly been liquidating securities from out of the reserves to meet budgetary deficits. Shri Tulsidas Kilachand and Shri Bansal mentioned an estimate of about Rs. 200 crores as the deficit financing we have effected in the period 1951 to 1953. Presumably, they have calculated on the basis of the State Budgets of last year the estimates for liquidation of securities by State Governments over this period. I should point out that, apart from the advisability of awaiting the revised figures which will be available shortly, part of the liquidation of securities by the State Governments must have been on account of the maturing of Central Government Securities held by State Governments. The effect of this, as far as deficit financing is concerned, is already reflected in the cash balances position of the Central Government. It must also be noticed that, while the State Governments have been selling securities to the Reserve Bank in exchange for cash, the Central Government on the other hand had been adding to its holdings in its cash balances investment account by purchasing securities from the Reserve Bank. We should therefore be indulging in double accounting if, on a closer examination of the net effect of all these transactions, the liquidation of the securities of the State Governments is added to the decline in cash balances at the Centre. As I had occasion to mention somewhere else, the Planning Commission is engaged in preparing a preliminary report—I think I mentioned it here also yesterday—on the working of the Five Year Plan in these two years. This report will contain a more accurate assessment of deficit financing done by the Centre and the State Governments together in this period than I can attempt here and now. For the present I would only stress the fact that in 1951-52 the impact of the budgetary deficit was probably more than absorbed by the import surplus in that year. I quoted the figures before. Though in 1952-53 larger budgetary deficits have been incurred side by side with accumulation of export surplus, there has been so far no sharp accentuation of inflationary pressure. Now this warrants the hope that provided measures are taken to utilise the available sterling balances in the coming year somewhat larger scale of deficit financing in 1952-53 can be sustained without any serious adverse effects.

Hon. Members have referred to the tendency towards employment and production in certain lines as well as to a decline in private investments and imports of machinery. Now all these trends may not be due to factors which can and ought to be corrected through financial measures. Nevertheless, there are signs which indicate that a larger measure of deficit financing, particularly when it is incurred for development projects will not have adverse repercussions and may well have a corrective effect on the economy. I do not wish to be dogmatic on this point. It can be claimed with some justification that the larger deficit financing envisaged for the coming year is mainly on account of higher developmental outlay. The whole question of deficit financing has, of course, to

be constantly reviewed in the light of the various developments in the economy, some of which may originate within the system and some of which may represent the impact of external forces and happenings. Ultimately, the scale of deficit financing feasible for any year, or for any particular period is a matter of judgment, and one should proceed, though cautiously, not too timidly.

I am often asked what value one can attach to the vigilance which I said Government would exercise and what course I propose to follow should my expectations in regard to the possible consequences of deficit financing be belied in order to counter inflation. This is equivalent to asking the driver of a motor car who is taking to a difficult mountain road which measures he proposes to take should he come to difficult portions of the road. His only answer can be that he promises to be a good driver.

The Minister of Revenue and Expenditure (Shri Tyagi): Keep to the left.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: If that is not sufficient he can humbly point to his past performances Therefore, I would ask the House, until the contrary is shown, to have faith in the driver, as the common man in the country appears to have.

I have received a letter from the same gentleman who has been sustaining my Budget for the last two years. This is the translation of the note that he has sent me this year:

> "Please find herewith my yearly donation. Rupees Five may please be credited to the country's revenue for the next year and Rupees Five may be utilised for the implementation of the Five Year Plan. Kindly do not disclose my name."

Kumari Annie Mascarene (Trivandrum): May I know your relationship with him?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I do not know him from Adam, Madam.

RESOLUTION RE: PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION ON P.E.P.S.U.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now take up the resolution standing in the name of Dr. Kailas Nath Katju.

This is a motion and under the rules some time has to be fixed:

> "The Speaker shall at the appointed hour on the allotted day, or as the case may be, the last of the allotted days forthwith put every question necessary to determine the decision of the House on the original question."

Normally a couple of hours will be enough for this. However, I leave it to the House as to how long they would like to take and then I will fix up the time.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: (Calcutta North-East): Actually, I have got in touch with the Chief Whip of the Congress Party and he is quite agreeable to the rest of the evening being devoted to the discussion of this resolution.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then I will put the question at seven o'clock today.

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju): I beg to move:

> "That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on 4th March 1953 under article 356 of the Constitution, assuming to himself all the functions of the Government of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union."

I notice that notices of amendments to this resolution of mine have been handed in. I, therefore, do not propose to make a very lengthy speech: the more so, because the salient facts have already been stated by me in the statement which I ventured to place before the House at the time I placed the Proclamation itself on the Table of the House.

I would beg the House to consider some salient facts. Here is an Assembly which consists of sixty members and if you exclude the Speaker, then there are 59 effective members. Now, what is the position today? The General Elections were completed and the first Ministry entered office in March 1952—last year. The General Elections left the political parties in a very fluid conditions. No party was in a majority: there were several parties and independents. The Congress Party had 26 members: Akalis had 22; Communists three; K.M.P.P. one; Jan Sangh one; and Independents seven. The Rajpramukh called upon the party which had at that time the largest number of members to form a Ministry. A Ministry was formed. Immediately began a tussle and within less than a month the Ministry broke down. Then

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there was an alliance. A new party was formed called the "United Democratic Front", and a Ministry was formed under the leadership of the Chief Minister Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala. This happened on the 20th of April 1952, less than eleven months ago.

Now in between the House might be interested to know what has been actually happening to the Ministry. They came into office on the 22nd of April 1952 and there was a Chief Minister and three other Ministers. The PEPSU State consists of eight districts with a population of nearly 3½ million—35 lakhs. I am not making any comments of any kind—I am just narrating the facts. On the 22nd of April there was a Ministry of four Ministers, including the Chief Minister and two weeks later, on the 4th of May, a fifth Minister was added and two Deputy Ministers. Then they carried on and in November a sixth Minister was added, said to be a representative of the Harijans—Harijan Sikhs—and one Minister was—what shall I say—asked to resign, removed or dismissed, and replaced by another. This was in November 1952. In December 1952 there was a curious spectacle in PEPSU. The Budget session had come to an end in the month of May 1952; there was plenty of legislation for discussion and consideration, as I shall explain to the House a little later. The law and order position was exceedingly difficult, and it was said that the need for consideration of a proper agrarian legislation was urgent. Therefore, one might have expected that the Legislature would have met, would have taken the urgent problems into consideration, and would have done a lot for the promotion of the public welfare. But for six months the House never met.

Under article 174 of the Constitution it is incumbent upon a Legislature to meet within six months of its last prorogation. Therefore, on the 19th November the House was called to meet, and it was planned to have a ten days' session.

But immediately after the meeting of the House began a tussle for, shall I say, the throwing overboard of the then Ministry, and of the then Ministry keeping its power in its own hands.

I have already told you that in November 1952 there was the going out of one Minister and the coming in of two.

In November and December extraordinary things happened. I do not know what was apprehended, but it was said that while the House was sitting, the Chief Minister just passed on a note, a private note, to the Speaker asking him to adjourn the House; and the Speaker quietly adjourned the House forthwith, informing nobody about the reasons why he was doing so. That was about the 25th of November.

There was a great deal of noise about this matter among the Opposition parties, a great deal of discussion in the newspapers, a great deal of public comment. And it is said that the Speaker realising his mistake or—whatever it may have been—his impropriety, on the 6th of December, without consulting the Leader of the House, convened the House back again for the 22nd of December. The Chief Minister was very angry and took a lot of measures about it, and the House was going to meet on the 22nd of December in a tremendous state of excitement. People apprehended that one Ministry might be overthrown and another Ministry might come in.

But on the 21st of December strange things happened. One Minister resigned. Then, two members of the Opposition, who till then had been the most vigorous members of the Opposition, crossed the floor and were sworn in, one as a Minister and the other as a Deputy Minister. The result was that a certain equilibrium was retained and the motion of no confidence, which was pushed to the debate in one form or another, was defeated. And, as soon as it was defeated the House was adjourned and subsequently prorogued.

The result was that during this November-December session, apart from this tussle about the Ministry and the no confidence motion and the Ministers going out and coming in, not a single particle of any relevant business was conducted. And the Ministry was there, of six Ministers new and old, and two or three Deputy Ministers.

In between there had been lots of election petitions pending. I believe PEPSU holds an absolute record in the number of election petitions filed to contest the various elections. Thirty-three election petitions were filed altogether to contest the validity of the

election of thirty-one members. Out of these, fourteen are still pending and seventeen have been decided upon. And the result has been that nine members have been unseated. Out of these nine, two have been disqualified. Out of these two, one is a sitting Minister and the other is a Minister who went out in the month of November. The four who have been unseated are the Chief Minister and three others. And the two Ministers who remain are the Ministers who were appointed in December last year when there was a sudden crossing over of the floor of the House from one side to the other. Today there is just one Minister, I believe, and one or two Deputy Ministers.

Now, fourteen election petitions still remain to be disposed of. I do not want to venture on any prediction as to what would happen about those fourteen. But most of these election petitions depended upon the decision of the question whether the nomination paper had been rightly rejected or wrongly rejected, or rightly accepted or wrongly accepted. By this time there is a large volume of case law on this point. And looking into that case law, probably all parties are agreed that out of the remaining petitions there are good prospects of many proving successful.

I only go into these facts for the purpose of showing that on a very modest estimate there would have been by-elections for the purpose of filling up, people say, at least fifteen vacancies; might be more; might be twenty; or, as the Prime Minister tells me, twenty-five. I do not know about it. But in a House of sixty, if you have an election even for twenty, well, it is a miniature General Election.

And I should like to put it specifically that under the prevailing conditions there can be no guarantee; no party will be satisfied; I mean there will be petitions from one quarter or another that the elections are not being properly conducted. I am aware of the fact that under the Constitution we have got an Election Commission who have got the power to see to it that the elections are properly managed and who have the controlling power for directing and supervising of elections. But the machinery which the Commission uses is the State machinery, the State officers, the district magistrates, the subordinate officers. And the House may take it from me—I am speaking with some knowledge there—that the conditions are so bad that it is absolutely impossible to inspire public confidence in any election whatsoever, at the moment.

Now, this is one ground why the President thought it absolutely essential, I say compulsory, in public interest to intervene and to take over the powers. I want at the very outset to disabuse the mind of everybody, so long as we are here, it does not matter to me, speaking as a Home Minister of the Government of India, as to what particular party comes into power in any State.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazaribagh West): We want Congress Governments everywhere!

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Dr. Katju: We have now got twenty-two States in India, and there is the Central Government. It may be that in the Central Government you may have a particular party in power. At the same time it may be that the same party may continue in all the twenty-two States—it may be, it may not be. In the United States, for instance, you see the Republican Party is in power at the Centre. Out of the forty-eight States I do not know in how many there are Democratic Governors and in how many Republican Governors. It is the duty, function, obligation, and, I may say, the privilege of the Government of India in seeing that each State has its own chosen representatives in office to manage its own affairs. Our Constitution prescribes the two different parts and I have no doubt whatsoever that on one point we are all agreed namely the security of India, the safety of India, the protection of the independence of this country and therefore it does not concern me as to whether in a Part A or Part B State this party in power or that party in power comes into power. The House can take it from me that I entirely repudiate the insinuations when it is said that this action has been taken for the purpose of promoting or advancing the interests of any particular political party in PEPSU. Nothing of the kind. It does not matter to us as to what happens in the election. I want to hold this assurance out that a General Election is bound to take place as early as we can hold it. The Proclamation is not going to stand for all time to come. The Constitution says for six months and for three years. Whenever a General Election takes place it will take place in an atmosphere of complete tranquillity, complete impartiality, complete

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independence and not the slightest effort will be made to influence the electorate improperly either this way or that way or the other way.

I will tell you the reason why this action has been taken because it has become a matter of importance, it has become essentially imperative. There was no stable Ministry. Nothing was being done there and the Legislature was not even functioning properly. The Budget session was to commence from the 16th March and by then there would have been a truncated House. By that time 15, 16 members would have gone out and there would be then tussle. I do not want to say anything against the gentlemen who are not here. It is not proper for me to do so but the House will be able to draw its own conclusions. By this shifting climate, by the shifting nature of private political parties, what is going to happen to the administrative services? From the highest to the lowest, the district magistrate, the *patwaris'* the revenue assistants—all these people do not know what is going to happen—and please remember further that PEPSU is a place which is not accustomed to democratic traditions. This is applicable to all the Part B States here.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Dr. Katju: Here, in what we used to call as British India, we have been functioning in the British Provinces, nine Part A States, in a sort of democratic tradition. It was being built up for the last 60 years. There were Legislative Assemblies, Legislative Councils. People have become accustomed to electorates and this and that and therefore they could draw a distinction between an administration and the right of going to the polls; but in PEPSU and all other Part B States, the General Election was the first thing. In PEPSU it was not known. In Madhya Bharat from where I come, it was not known and therefore the local officer played a great and vital role in these elections. My submission therefore is that the Government would not have fairly discharged its duty if it had withheld its hand simply by saying that we have extended the President's rule over there. The hon. gentlemen will say with great flourish that this has all been done for the purpose of promoting Congress interests. Nothing of the kind.

Let me now come to the essence of the matter. What were the conditions there? I told you right from the start, there were several independents, one representative of the KMPP and three Communists. Observing this state of affairs in a spirit of detachment, it strikes me sometimes that these three Communists were enjoying the very best of the lot, the cream of the lot. They thought that they had the balance of power and they had the balance of power. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members will have an opportunity to speak.

Dr. Katju: If you want to speak, I will sit down now and leave the rest to you.

What is happening today? I have got reports here which say that in three districts about 70 to 80 *panchayats* have been formed, a very fine performance. I am myself a great believer in *panchayats* but these are rival governmental institutions.

Shri Radhelal Vyas (Ujjain): Who formed them?

Dr. Katju: Great fighters for the common good! *Panchayats* have been formed for what purpose? They collect rents, they collect land revenue, they try cases, not ordinary morbid cases, they try murder cases. They try very serious offences against men, women and children. They try all sorts of cases and they compel obedience. Everyone cannot go to a law court, not to a magistrate, not to a civil judge and the sentence that was imposed in a murder case, according to my report, is a fine and the blackening of the man's face. Then he can do what he likes. Now, in three districts, this movement is spreading and the Government cannot do anything. In Government itself, opinion was widely divergent. It is the talk of coalition Ministries and all that but in a Cabinet, you require harmonious working, a harmonious team but if two join pulling this way and two pulling the other way, the result is nothing is done. Can we tolerate all this?

Several Hon. Members: No.

Dr. Katju: If the Constitution is functioning properly .....

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East): You only want a harmonium.

Dr. Katju: My hon. friend had plenty of time to play harmonium for the last five days.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: The Supreme Court has also sounded some notes on harmonium.

Dr. Katju: I am accustomed to hear harmonium of this type for the past 40 years. It is not a question of harmonium. What is he talking about? Dr. Mookerjee was a member of the Cabinet. He went out. He has had some so long as he remained there. You have got to be a member of a concert and not to play a discordant note. If he comes again here, you will see how the harmonium will be played. So, my point is that the law and order situation was deteriorating morally and the services were deteriorating. What was to be done? The object is, as stated in the statement made, purity of administration, purity of services, inspiring of confidence among the services. But is the House against this? The agrarian legislation should be taken in hand, something has to be done for the tenants, the *biswedars*, the occupancy tenants, the tenants-at-will, not that they should be allowed to do what they like. I went there in the month of August.

Dr. N. B. Khare (Gwalior): *Biswedars* or *ristedars*? I could not hear properly.

Dr. Katju: I can deal, Sir, with every Member of the House but not with this gentleman. I do not know why I am frightened. I am frightened by many things. I respect him and therefore do not want to give a proper answer. Anyway he is the repressor.

The question was this. I went myself about six months ago. I went to one of these villages. What did I see? A woman came to me and she wept. I asked, what has happened. She said, "my husband has been shot dead." Because, PEPSU is a trigger free land. They shoot at the slightest cause. There were many tenants and cultivators sitting and this woman was weeping. I asked them, what is the truth about it. They were silent for a minute or so. They then said, "her husband was shot, but not by us." I said, shooting is a real thing, and asked what happened. They said that he was shot by his son-in-law, that the father was not sending the daughter to her husband's house, the husband got angry and shot the father-in-law. Maybe PEPSU politics; I do not know. But, it was absolutely false. Then I went to another place. The cultivators came along and showed me a boy with the hand lopped off. He is a *biswedar*. I sope to many villagers. I asked, how are you getting on. They said, "we are perfectly happy." I should like to go and live there: a perfectly happy atmosphere. I asked, "how much do you pay as rent. They said, "we do not pay. It is the *biswedar's* business." He is recorded in the revenue papers as the person responsible for paying the Government revenue. What about rent? They said, "we have decided that no rent should be paid."

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: O.K.

Dr. Katju: I can give the name of the village. No rent; no Government revenue. Now, of course, we have got these *panchayats*. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Dr. Katju: Here is a small territory within the Republic of India owing allegiance to nobody. This is what is happening.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Thank God.

Dr. Katju: I therefore respectfully ask the hon. Members to consider the situation and not to make it purely a party affair. That is not the spirit of it. They may take it from me that we have given the greatest latitude. Otherwise, a case for an action like this was there some months ago. But, I thought, let the people manage their own affairs if they can. Do you mean to say that any one on these Benches is anxious to add to his responsibilities? There is plenty to do. Please remember it is not as if the President is becoming an autocrat. What happens is this. Up till now, no question could have been put on law and order or any State matters. I could have easily said, " it has nothing to do with me, go to the PEPSU Legislature." Now, every Minister of the Government here becomes responsible to this House, to every one of you, to answer questions. It is not as if there is no responsibility and there is nobody to look after the PEPSU people, and the Government of India or the President can do whatever he likes. In a few days, if this resolution is approved, you will have the Budget and you will have a long discussion on the Budget. If this resolution is approved, there would be agrarian legislation. I say it

[Dr. Katju]

is a completely wrong picture, a misleading picture to paint that the State Ministry has gone, the President has come in and there is despotic rule. We have got Members in the House of the People representing the PEPSU people. We have got Members in the Council of States. Apart from that, it is a big thing; the whole Opposition now becomes the great fighters for the cause of PEPSU. The result would not be as if PEPSU will be neglected. The anxiety has not been to take over PEPSU because, as I said, speaking for myself, I believe, and speaking for other Members of the Government of India also, we are most anxious that every State should look after itself and manage its own affairs, everything assigned to it within the State List, of its own. But, we are compelled. We cannot possibly see all this: namely, no law and order, dacoities, murders being committed, the poor people in the services not knowing whether this man will come into power or that man, newspaper reports and a number of telegrams coming from all sides that election is not being properly held, and this and that. We have taken this step solely in the interests of the people, to stop the rot and to restore confidence. As soon as the Delimitation Committee finishes its work, a proper General Election will take place.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: After rehabilitation.

Dr. Katju: After delimitation. Rehabilitation of what?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Congress rehabilitation.

Dr. Katju: Some of these interruptions make me sad because they are made with such a sense of irresponsibility that really I do not know how to answer them.

That is the crux of the matter. Before I sit down, I should like to say one thing more. I have read in the newspapers some insinuations that the President's rule may be a precursor of all sorts of things: precursor of the merger of PEPSU with the Punjab. This is pure imagination. Nothing of the kind. If the President's rule is there, it is a care-taker rule. If any decision is to be taken on any big matters of policy, on any major questions of policy about the future of the province, about the future of this community or that, that we will not do. That will be a matter entirely for the people to decide for themselves. Our main anxiety will be preservation of law and order; nothing else. We do not want to confer this particular privilege on this community or that particular privilege on another community. The province is constituted as it is constituted. It will function as it is functioning. All the existing conditions that prevail about rights of voting and not voting will remain where they are.

With these words, Sir, I commend the resolution for the approval of the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Resolution moved:

> "That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on 4th March 1953 under article 356 of the Constitution, assuming to himself all the functions of the Government of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union."

Shri Bahadur Singh (Ferozepur-Ludhiana—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

That for the original resolution the following be substituted:

> "That this House disapproves the action of the Government of India in suspending the Constitution in Patiala and East Punjab States Union and looks upon the assumption of all the functions of the Government of Patiala and East Punjab States Union by the President as unwarranted, undemocratic and unconstitutional."

Sardar Lal Singh (Ferozepur-Ludhiana): My amendment is also the same.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Amendment moved:

That for the original resolution the following be substituted:

> "That this House disapproves the action of the Government of India in suspending the Constitution in Patiala and East Punjab States Union and looks upon the assumption of all the functions of the Government of Patiala and East Punjab States Union by the President as unwarranted, undemocratic and unconstitutional."

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I beg to move:

That in the resolution,—

(i) for the word "approves" the words "takes into consideration" be substituted: and

(ii) at the end, the following be added:

"and resolves that the President be requested to suspend the Rajpramukh of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union".

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Amendment moved:

That in the resolution,—

(i) for the word "approves" the words " takes into consideration" be substituted; and

(ii) at the end, the following be added:

"and resolves that the President be requested to suspend the Rajpramukh of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union".

These are the amendments received earlier. But today I have received notice of amendments by Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava and Shri Vallatharas. If the hon. Minister is agreeable to accepting them, for waiving notice I have no objection. Has he received a copy of these amendments?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): Mine is a formal amendment.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right. There are not many amendments allowed. I shall waive notice in these matters.

I find that so far as first three amendments of Shri Vallatharas are concerned, they are not in order. Only amendment No. 4 is in order. The first one is negative in character. The hon. Member can oppose the original resolution. The second one also is negative in character for he wants the word 'Disapproves' to be substituted in place of 'approves'. The hon. Member can oppose the resolution instead. The third amendment reads:

"and resolve that it shall not be lawful for the President to act to any extent through the Rajpramukh of that State and that all the functions of the Government of PEPSU and all the powers vested in or exerciseable by the Rajpramukh of that State under the Constitution or under any law in force in that State, shall, subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the President, be exercised by the Adviser appointed by the President in this behalf."

This is also a negative one in character.

So far as amendment No. 4 is concerned, the hon. Member can move it.

Shri Vallatharas (Pudukkottai): In amendment No. 3, I am quoting from the Proclamation itself, where it is contended that it shall be lawful for the President—

"to act to any extent through the Rajpramukh of that State and that all the functions of the Government of PEPSU and all the powers vested in or exercisable by the Rajpramukh of that State under the Constitution or under any law in force in that State, shall, subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the President, be exercised by the Adviser appointed by the President in this behalf".

So, it is not negative in spirit.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He wants to substitute the word 'Adviser' for 'Rajpramukh'. But whom is he advising then?

Shri Vallatharas: Of course, there is a limit to the Rajpramukh's acting, suggested by the Proclamation, which I am supporting here. That is the only point.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right, I shall allow that amendment also. The hon. Member does not want the existing Rajpramukh to act, but somebody else who is appointed as an Adviser. He may be called by any name, it does not matter. So, amendment No. 3 is also allowed.

So, the amendments that are in order are the two already moved by Shri Bahadur Singh and Shri Hiren Mukerjee respectively and amendments Nos. 3 and 4 handed over to me by Shri Vallatharas and the amendment handed over to me by Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): Could you please have these amendments read out because the House does not know what the amendments of Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava and Shri Vallatharas are?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right, the hon. Members may read out their amendments.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I beg to move:

That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"declaring that the powers of the Legislature of the said State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament and making certain incidental and consequential provisions detailed in the said Proclamation."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Amendment moved:

That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"declaring that the powers of the Legislature of the said State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament and making certain incidental and consequential provisions detailed in the said Proclamation."

Shri Vallatharas: I beg to move:

(i) That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"and resolves that it shall not be lawful for the President to act to any extent through the Rajpramukh of that State and that all the functions of the Government of PEPSU and all the powers vested in or exercisable by the Rajpramukh of that State under the Constitution or under any law in force in that State, shall, subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the President, be exercised by the Adviser appointed by the President in this behalf."

(ii) That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"and resolves that the General Election for constituting the new Assembly for the said State shall be held before 31st July, 1953, irrespective of the final order of the Delimitation Commission."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Amendments moved:

(i) That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"and resolves that it shall not be lawful for the President to act to any extent through the Rajpramukh of that State and that all the functions of the Government of PEPSU and all the powers vested in or exercisable by the Rajpramukh of that State under the Constitution or under any law in force in that State, shall, subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the President, be exercised by the Adviser appointed by the President in this behalf."

(ii) That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"and resolves that the General Election for constituting the new Assembly for the said State shall be held before 31st July, 1953, irrespective of the final order of the Delimitation Commission."

I fix 15 minutes for each hon. Member to speak on this resolution. I have received lists of a large number of hon. Members who desire to take part in the discussion. We have to close it at seven o' clock.

Shri Punnoose (Alleppey): May I submit, Sir, that Group Leader may be allowed to speak at greater length, because this is a very important subject, and the hon. Minister himself took such a long time?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right Twenty minutes for the Group Leaders, and 15 minutes for the rest. I have always not been very strict in that matter.

Sardar Lal Singh: In the absence of Sardar Hukam Singh, representing PEPSU, it has fallen on me to represent the cause of PEPSU, or may I say, of the United Front Party. Unfortunately, I do not happen to be a lawyer or an orator. So, I can not indulge in legal quibbles or in oratory, but I would like to discuss this matter from the viewpoint of a simple layman: Although it is generally said that truth or decency or honesty has no place in politics, yet I believe in Mahatma Gandhi's teaching that even in politics, we should not say goodbye to these human virtues.

PEPSU affairs concern not only the people of PEPSU, but all people in India, who believe in democracy. PEPSU however, is the only State where the Sikhs happen to be in a majority. And it is the only State where a non-Congress Government has been functioning for some time; even though people in other parts of India—who did not see eye to eye with the Congress—had been trying to establish non-Congress Governments. Accordingly PEPSU provided an excellent opportunity to them to see

what they have to contend with, and to what extent the Congress could go to defeat its opponents. If PEPSU was of great concern to India and also to the Sikhs, it was also an acid test of the honesty of the Congress High Command to show to the world whether they could tolerate opinion different from theirs, and whether they could rise to the occasion and give fair opportunity to their political opponents to show their worth.

Many reasons have been put forward for suspending the Constitution. I shall try to deal with them as briefly as I can, within the short time at my disposal. It has been said that petitions are pending in the case of 30 members. But whose fault is it? It is either the fault of the Congress Government at the Centre, which allowed these flaws to remain in the election rules, or it is the fault of the PEPSU State Congress Government which was first foisted at that time by the Central Government, and which allowed the returning officers to commit all sorts of irregularities or mistakes.

An Hon. Member: Purposefully.

Sardar Lal Singh: I would not say purposefully, because I am not in the habit of attributing motives. All that I can beg of the hon. Members on the Opposite benches is that they are in so overwhelming a majority that they can afford to display a dignified silence and at least listen to the views that are expressed. I am not in the habit of passing any undesirable remarks on anybody.

Secondly, the logical course was to allow those members who would be unseated to seek re-election. Even if 15 members are unseated, in a House of 60 members, still, it would not have mattered much. Why should the remaining 45 members who were elected last year, and against whom no election petitions are pending or those who may not be unseated, be forced to go through the election process once again? Besides, it would be a clossal waste of national funds also. It has been said by the Government that if the Assembly were allowed to meet on the 19th March it would have been a truncated House. There were to be no less than 51 members in a House of 60 members on that date and you can see for yourself whether by any strech of imagination it can be called a truncated House. It has been said that the United Front Party had a very narrow majority. I ask: "Is position in PEPSU worse than in some of the States like Rajasthan and Orissa where the Congress Governments are functioning?"

An Hon. Member: Madras.

Sardar Lal Singh: Yes, Madras also. I take, for instance, the case of Orissa alone, with an Assembly of 140 members— almost 2½ times the number of PEPSU. The Congress had only 67 members with 73 in the Opposition. The Congress at that time did not mind throwing to the winds all the high principles that it is advocating at present. Instead of taking disciplinary action against those MLAs who had revolted against the Congress and who had fought against the Congress in the elections, Congress did not mind offering them bribes in the form of Deputy Ministerships and so on to win them over. Not only that. In order to create even a precarious majority of five members only, in the House of 140, this very Congress went to the extent of wooing those Rajas, Rajmatas and Jagirdars whom it had been maligning and abusing previously. It was a question of getting a few votes—that is, only a majority of five. Further, it is well known that recently while discussing the educational budget on a motion of refusal of supplies this Congress Government narrowly escaped defeat by two votes only. Then it is also a fact that in that very Assembly there are 12 or 14 MLAs belonging to the Scheduled Tribes and they openly declare that they owe allegiance to the Adibasi Party and not to the Congress and that it is a Coalition Ministry and they are there as long as it suits them. I ask, is the Orissa Ministry stronger than the PEPSU Ministry?

Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru): What about Madras?

Sardar Lal Singh: As against this, let us see what was the position of the Rerewala Ministry. Even after some of their members had been unseated, there were 26 members in the United Front Party as against 20 in the Congress. And only a day before the Constitution was suspended, an election was held in the case of two constituencies and both were won by the candidates of the United Front Party —and what is more with a thumping majority of 80 per cent. Further, it was also an open secret that several Congress MLAs had signified their intention to join the United

[Sardar Lal Singh]

Front Party. It was also surmised that out of 20 or so bye-elections, the Congress had not the slightest hope of winning very many seats. It was then and then only that the Constitution was suspended, when Congress lost all hopes of forming a Congress Ministry, since the United Front Party had become solid like a rock.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Hear, hear.

Sardar Lal Singh: I am certain that if the Assembly had been allowed to be held on the 19th of this month, the people, the world at large, would have seen the true state of affairs. Surely the heavens would not have fallen if the Congress had allowed the Ministry to function for 10 days more, at least to have the situation cleared before the world. But the Congress was naturally afraid of exposure. It did not want the people to know the true state of affairs.

It has been said that the members had been crossing the floor. Now, let me mention that it was mostly the Congress MLAs who had been crossing the floor, so that if anything at all, the discredit goes to the High Command or the State Congress which gave them the tickets. Secondly, it is possible that some of them may have crossed the floor in all sincerity, thinking that it was in the interest of the State. Thirdly, if crossing the floor is really so abominable, why did not this very Congress High Command interfere in the Punjab during the days of Dr. Gopichand Bhargava's Congress Ministry when it was an open secret that members were being bribed and were being won over by Congress leaders and it was an open bid carried to a disgraceful extent? (*Interruption*). Further, leaving apart Orissa, everybody knows that in PEPSU also, the Congress did not leave any stone unturned to win over the non-Congress MLAs. Then why are they making so much fuss about this crossing of the floor in this case? Is it merely because the United Front Party happens to be the gainer? It only confirms the proverb that just as the king can do no wrong, likewise anything done by the Congress party is of course always moral and quite right; but anything done by others, of course, is all wrong.

Ch. Ranbir Singh (Rohtak): It is just the reverse.

Sardar Lal Singh: So much fuss has been made as to why the Assembly that was called on the 19th of November for 10 days' sitting was at once prorogued on the 26th, that is, after seven days' sitting. Our hon. Home Minister has also referred to this now. But he conveniently overlooked to mention that it was not that the United Front Party was afraid of its strength which had been tried repeatedly before, but it was because the Election Tribunals had refused to postpone the hearing of the members of the United Front Party. Naturally those members could not be in two places at one and the same time. There was no other course left for them except to prorogue the Assembly.

There is also another interesting feature. It may be only incidental, because I am not in the habit of attributing motives. The election petitions were pending against both Congressmen and non-Congressmen. And an average man like myself would have expected that they would be heard by Election Tribunals more or less simultaneously so that no party could have undue advantage by unseating of members. But it is rather interesting to note that the Election Tribunals in the first instance listened or heard the election petitions affecting the United Front Party in most of the cases. I do not want to say anything more than that.

So much has been said about the law and order position. Here again I ask: is it really worse than that in Rajasthan, Saurashtra or even in Punjab from where I come? I can say here without the least fear of contradiction that the conditions in Punjab, especially in districts like Ferozepur are far worse than what they are in PEPSU? And yet nobody has ever suggested the suspension of the Constitution in the case of these States which are run by Congress Governments! (*Interruption*).

Ch. Ranbir Singh: Question.

Sardar Lal Singh: Let me tell you that the law and order position in PEPSU is far better now than it ever was.

[SHRI PATASKAR *in the Chair*]

There is no question of laughing. I am prepared to give facts and figures. The Inspector General of Police PEPSU was formerly the Deputy Inspector General of Police in Punjab and he gave me these facts. I am certain he could not have given wrong figures.

The position at present is far better than it was before. And if you see the number of dacoits and other bad characters shot, captured or otherwise liquidated during the last few months, you will be surprised. More dacoits have been killed during the last few months than in many years past. And this is a solid proof of what the State has done.

Then it has been said that the moral of servicemen had greatly deteriorated. Firstly, I do not agree with this. Secondly, it will be worthwhile for some people to go there to see for themselves whether for this falling morale, which is so much talked about, it is the Congress that is responsible or any other organisation. I repeat that the morale is not lower than what it was before.

Mr. Chairman: May I suggest to the hon. Member to address me as far as possible.

Sardar Lal Singh: Further communal atmosphere has improved immensely during the last few months. And, at present, one can say that there is a great deal of communal harmony. Any one can see what example of non-communal outlook this United Front Party has set up. Although it was a Sikh majority area, yet most of the Government appointments as also in the Cabinet, have gone to non-Sikhs. They wanted to show their broad-mindedness and to set an example as to what treatment ought to be given to a minority.

Then, as regards community projects, I am certain that PEPSU has set an example for the whole of India. I was reading a report the other day by some of the foreigners who had come to India and they had nothing but the highest praise for the work done in PEPSU. I think PEPSU possibly leads the whole of India so far as progress in community projects or even agricultural development during the last few months is concerned. Nor have they been lagging in land reforms. They have taken definite steps in that direction and what is more, they were always trying for a rapproachment between the landlords and the tenants in order to avoid the bitterness which we find in so many other States. And, all this they had to do under severe handicaps because we all know how Congress was trying its utmost to oust the United Front Party; and now when the United Front Party had fully Consolidated its position and had every reason to be a very strong party, the Congress thought fit to suspend the Constitution

Article 352 of the Constitution provides for the taking over of the States Governments by the President in cases of grave emergencies and external crisis or internal disturbances and under article 356 when the Government of the State cannot be carried out. It is obvious that none of these conditions or exigencies prevailed and there was not the slightest justification for the Central Government to take over the administration of PEPSU. It was just because the Congress, under no circumstances, was prepared to allow a non-Congress Government to function anywhere in India. That was a plain fact and nothing else. I feel that it is a challenge to all the people in India who cannot see eye to eye with the Congress. This is the fate that they may expect at the hands of Congress Government.

Then as regards Sardar Rarewala, the Chief Minister. He had been unseated on technical grounds only and not on moral turpitude. According to the Constitution he could stay on for a period of six months more until he was re-elected. This concession had been shown to a number of people in India, for instance Shri Morarji Desai Chief Minister in Bombay and Shri Rajagopalachari Chief Minister in Madras, and others. And, the case of Rarewala was far stronger than that of these gentlemen, because Shri Morarji Desai ws actually defeated and Rajaji had not even sought election. No fair minded person can deny that Rarewala should have been given that concession. It is a clumsy excuse that these two gentlemen Shri Morarji Desai and Rajaji were elected or nominated—to the Upper House. It is not the fault of PEPSU or of Rarewala that PEPSU has not got an Upper House.

The Constitution provided consultation with the Central Government and poor Rarewala came to the Central Government for advice. He was told he could not continue. Not contented with that, Government even ruled that it could not allow the Ministry to continue even after the election of another leader in place of Rarewala even though United Party had a majority of members in the House.

Mr. Chairman: I think the hon. Member has taken about 20 minutes.

Sardar Lal Singh: I had a good deal to say but I would finish in one minute, **Sir.**

In short the people of PEPSU feel that the Central Government did not suspend the Constitution as long as there was any ray of hope of the Congress Ministry being formed. But when they found that not even the slightest chance was left to form a Congress Ministry, the only alternative that they could think of was to suspend the Constitution.

The main object of the suspension of the Constitution is that Congress may be able to hold elections under its own supervision and in its own way just as it did in the case of the first elections, when the Central Government foisted a Congress Government on PEPSU for obvious reasons which I need not go into. Dr. Katju has said that PEPSU people are not accustomed to the democratic way. I think they are as much accustomed as others. Of course, they are men of self-respect and men of martial spirit. They cannot many a time see things being done which touch their self-respect. Well, I do not think this is something of which they should feel ashamed.

Dr. Katju has referred to *panchayats* as rival institutions. I think he cannot deny that when he was actually going through those places which are called disturbed areas, many a time bogus applications were put up to him to give impression about pitiful state of affairs there. In one case he himself happened to enquire as to who had written those applications. He was told that Babu Vakil—meaning Brishban, the President of the PEPSU Congress Party—had done it. It shows how the Congressmen there were trying to depict PEPSU in the worst possible colour and I feel that the Central Government is not being properly guided in this matter. I am sorry I have got to stop because the time is up.

گیانی جی - ایس مسافر (امرتسر): سبھاپتی جی ! جب یہ کانسٹی ٹیوشن پیپسو کا ختم کیا گیا تو وہاں پہلے روز ہی ایک بڑا جلوس نکالا گیا جس میں ڈیموکریسی کا جنازہ نکالا گیا - وہاں ڈیموکریسی کے بت کو

جلا کر یہ ثابت کیا گیا اور اظہار کیا گیا کہ یہاں ڈیموکریسی کو ختم کیا گیا ہے - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ڈیموکریسی کا جنازہ اصل میں نکالنے کا وہ وقت نہیں تھا جس وقت یہ وہاں کانسٹی ٹیوشن کیا گیا اس سے بہت پہلے ہی اگر یہ کارروائی ہو جاتی تو زیادہ مناسب ہوتا - اس وقت وہاں پر جو جنازہ نکالا گیا میں اسے مناسب وقت اس واسطے نہیں کہتا کیونکہ در اصل اس وقت تو وہاں ڈیموکریسی کو محفوظ کیا گیا ہے کیونکہ صحیح معنوں میں وہاں اس وزارت کے عہد میں ڈیموکریسی کی کوئی عزت نہیں رہی تھی -

اگر آپ واقعات کی طرف جائیں تو آپ کو پتہ لگے گا کہ کس طرح سے وہاں ممبرس کو اُدھر سے اِدھر اور اِدھر سے اُدھر کیا جاتا تھا - یعنی ۶۰ ممبرس کے ہاؤس میں ۱۳ ایسے ممبر ہیں جنہوں نے کئی دفعہ - ایک دفعہ نہیں - دو دفعہ - تین دفعہ - بلکہ چار دفعہ اپنے کو کبھی اِدھر کیا -کبھی اُدھر کیا تو اگر اِس کو ڈیماکریسی کہتے ہیں تو پھر سمجھ لو کہ یہ بات ختم ہوئی -

اگر ہمیں مکتب است و ہمیں ملاں و کار طفلاں تمام خواہد شد -

دوسری بات یہ کہ ابھی میرے دوست سردار لال سنگھ نے زیادہ زور اس بات پر دیا ہے کہ یہاں جو گورنمنٹ آف

منسٹری بنائی گئی تو اس منسٹری
کو جب یہ خطرہ ہوا - مجھے تو یہ
اعتراض ہے اسٹیٹس منسٹری پر اور
سرکار ہند پر کہ جب یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ
کی وہاں منسٹری بن گئی تو
اس کو قائم رکھنے کے لئے - اس کو
مضبوط بنانے کے لئے ان کو اجازت
دے دی کہ وہ چھٹا منسٹر - شیڈولڈ
کاسٹ سے بنالیں - ان واقعات کو
کوئی جھٹلا نہیں سکتا انہیں کوئی
غلط نہیں کہہ سکتا - میرا خیال ہے کہ
بابو رام نرائن سنگھ جی اس زور سے
کہیں گے کہ تمہاری بات ٹھیک ہے جیسے
زور سے وہ دوسری باتیں کہا کرتے ہیں -

دوسری بات - سبھاپتی جی !
میں آپ کی وساطت سے اور مدد سے
ہاؤس کے سامنے یہ رکھنا چاہتا ہوں
کہ وہاں ایک صاحب جو بعد میں
منسٹر بنائے گئے - یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ
میں - ان کے اوپر بہت سے چارجیز
تھے - ایک دفعہ یہ کوشش کی گئی کہ
یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ کی منسٹری میں
منسٹر بنائے جائیں - لیکن اسٹیٹس
منسٹری نے اجازت نہیں دی کیونکہ
ان کے خلاف بہت سیریس چارجیز
تھے - اور کہا کہ وہ منسٹر نہیں بن
سکتے - ان پر مقدمہ بھی چلنے والا تھا
لیکن پھر یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ کے لیڈر
زیادہ زور دینے پر - آپ حیران ہونگے
سن کر - اسٹیٹس منسٹری نے آوٹ
آف وے جاکر ان صاحب کو یونائیٹڈ
فرنٹ کی منسٹری کو مضبوط بنانے
انڈیا ہے یا کانگریس کی جو سرکار ہے
اس کی کوشش یہ تھی اور وہ یہ
برداشت نہیں کر سکتی تھی کہ وہاں
یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ کی گورنمنٹ قائم
ہو - انصاف کی بات یہ ہے اور میں
سمجھتا ہوں کہ میرے بھائی رام نرائن
سنگھ جی ہمارے بڑے پرانے ممبر
ہیں - میری بات کو سن کر وہ ضرور
اس نتیجہ پر پہنچیں گے کہ سردار
لال سنگھ جی کی بات بالکل غلط ہے
پہلی بات یہ کہ جب وہاں کانگریس
گورنمنٹ قائم ہوئی - اگر سرکار ہند
یا کانگریس کی سنٹرل سرکار کی یہ
نیت ہوتی کہ وہاں کانگریس گورنمنٹ
بنے اور دوسری کوئی گورنمنٹ نہ
بن سکے تو یقیناً کانگریس کی گورنمنٹ
ٹوٹ نہیں سکتی تھی - اور دوسری
کوئی گورنمنٹ بن بھی جاتی تو وہ چل
نہیں سکتی تھی - مجھے پتہ ہے کہ
جب کانگریس منسٹری وہاں قائم
ہوئی، تو پانچ منسٹر اور دو ڈپٹی
منسٹر بنائے گئے - وہاں کی کانگریس
سرکار نے کہا کہ ہم میں یہ کمی ہے
کہ شیڈولڈ کاسٹ کا کوئی آدمی یہاں
فل فلیجڈ منسٹر نہیں ہے - اس لئے
انہوں نے اسٹیٹ منسٹری سے کئی
دفعہ درخواست کی کہ ان کو اجازت
دے دی جائے کہ ہم ایک چھٹا منسٹر
بنائیں تاکہ شیڈولڈ کاسٹ کا وہاں
اچھی طرح سے پرتیندھتو ہو جائے -
مگر جیسے کانگریس کی کیندری سرکار
کہتے ہیں اس نے اس کو نہیں مانا -
لیکن جب وہاں یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ کی

تیسری بات میں آپ کے سامنے یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کہیں نہ کہیں یہ سوال چھیڑا جاتا ہے کہ اس میں سکھوں کو پلیچ کیا گیا ہے - ایک بات تو میں یہاں ہی بتلا دوں کہ جب سے وہاں ڈماکریسی شروع ہوئی ہے وہاں کا چیف سیکریٹری کوئی نہ کوئی باہر سے ہی جاتا رہا ہے - اس خیال سے کہ پیپسو میں نئی نئی ڈماکریسی شروع ہوئی ہے اور وہ ٹھیک طرح سے کام چلائے کہیں باہر کے کسی اسٹیٹ سے یا سرکار ہند کا کوئی اچھا ایڈمنسٹریٹر بھیجا جاتا تھا - یہ پہلی دفعہ ہے کہ وہاں کے یونائیٹیڈ فرنٹ کے چیف منسٹر نے کہا کہ میرا کام ٹھیک سے نہیں چل سکتا - اگر آپ ہماری مدد کریں تو مجھے اپنی مرضی سے یہاں پیپسو میں رہنے والا کوئی چیف سیکریٹری بنانے دیں - اگر آپ اس کی اجازت دے دیں تو مجھے کام چلانے میں زیادہ سہولیت ہوگی اسٹیٹ منسٹری نے اجازت دی کہ پیپسو کے سوتی صاحب جے دیوسنگھ جی کو چیف سیکریٹری بنا دیا گیا وہ قابل ہیں اچھے ہیں مجھے اس پر اعتراض نہیں کہ ان کو کیوں بنایا گیا میرا کہنا یہ ہے کہ ہماری ہند سرکار کی یہ خواہش تھی کہ پیپسو میں کام اچھا چلے - اسلئے انہوں نے یونائیٹیڈ فرنٹ کے لیڈر کی یہ بات مانی اور کہا جس طرح سے ان کا کام

[گیانی جی - ایس مسافر]

کے لئے منسٹر بنانے کی اجازت دے دی جن کے خلاف چارجیز تھے - اور ان کو انہوں نے منسٹر بنا دیا -

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کچھ آنریبل ممبر : کیا چارجیز تھے ؟

گیانی جی ایس مسافر : بہت سیریس چارجیز تھے جن کے متعلق میں یہاں پر کچھ نہیں کہنا چاہتا مگر یہ ایک فیکٹ ہے اور بالکل صحیح ہے کہ پہلے انکار کیا گیا اور بعد میں ان کو منسٹر بنانے کی اجازت دے دی گئی - اس وجہ سے بھی ان کو کچھ طاقت مل گئی -

डा० एस०पी०खरे: इसी को तो करप्शन कहते हैं ।

گیانی جی - ایس - مسافر : سنا جاتا ہے کہ کانگریس کی سرکار منسٹری اس کے خلاف ہے - میں کہتا ہوں کہ کانگریس کی جو سرکار ہے اس کا منشا یہ تھا کہ وہاں کوئی اسٹیبل چیز بن جائے - چاہے کسی پارٹی کی بنے - کسی نے تجویز پیش کی کہ جب نیا الیکشن ہوگا تو اس سے بڑا خطرہ ہوگا - شاید کانگریس والے نہ جیت سکیں تو ہمارے نہتاؤں نے کہا کہ خواہ ایک کانگریسی بھی نہ جیتے لیکن ایک پارٹی وہاں مضبوط ہو جائے - ہم تو چاہتے ہیں کہ وہاں ایک اسٹیبل گورنمنٹ بن جائے - ہمارا مقصد یہ نہیں ہے کہ وہاں کسی خاص پارٹی کی گورنمنٹ بنے -

چھوڑی تو پہلے ان کو اسمبلی سیکرٹری نے اجازت دے دی کہ وہ استعفا منظور ہونے کے پہلے حلف لے لیں تاکہ یونائیٹیڈ فرنٹ کو کوئی اعتراض نہ رہے - پہلے انہوں نے حلف لے لی اور بعد میں ان کا استعفا دفتر میں آیا - ایسا مجھے بتایا گیا ہے -

کانگریس پارٹی کے ساتھ میرا بھی سلسلہ ہے - کانگریس آرگنائزیشن سے میرا سلسلہ رہا ہے اس لئے میں پہلے سے ان باتوں کو نوٹ کرتا رہا ہوں - اور مجھے ان کاموں پر بڑا اعتراض رہا ہے جب کبھی ڈاکٹر کاٹجو پیپسو میں گئے تو ان کے واپس آنے کے بعد وہاں کے جو کانگریسی ہیں ان کی شکایتیں میرے کانوں میں پہنچیں کہ ڈاکٹر صاحب یہاں آکر جو یونائیٹیڈ فرنٹ کی منسٹری ہے اس کو زیادہ مضبوط کر گئے ہیں - کیونکہ ان کی باتوں کو انہوں نے زیادہ دھیان سے سنا ہے - دوسروں کی باتوں کو انہوں نے دھیان سے نہیں سنا - میں ایک مرتبہ شری لال بہادر جی شاستری کے ساتھ پیپسو گیا تھا بھٹنڈا میں ایک بڑا بھاری جلسہ ہوا - تقریباً سارا شہر اکٹھا تھا - وہاں میں اپنے کانوں سے شری لال بہادر جی کو یہ کہتے سنا اور انہوں نے لوگوں کو سمجھایا کہ سرکار ہند کے سامنے یہ بات نہیں ہے کہ یہاں پر کس جماعت کی منسٹری ہو - اس لئے سب لوگوں کو اچھی طرح سے سن لینا چاہئے اچھے طور سے چلے ہم اس کو ماننے کے لئے تیار ہیں -

Sardar Lal Singh: On a point of order. I want to enquire from you whether my hon. friend is in order in disclosing (*Interruption*)

Some Hon. Members: There is no point of order.

Sardar Lal Singh: There is. My hon. friend is disclosing talks or discussions that took place in the States Ministry. May I know whether he had access to them, or whether he was being consulted, because he represents Punjab and not PEPSU?

Mr. Chairman: There is no point of order in this.

گیانی جی ایس مسافر : سردار لال سنگھ جی کو اگر اس پر اعتراض ہے تو وہ اس کی تردید کر دیں کہ ایسا نہیں ہوا -

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल :(बिलासपुर) उनको तनख्वाह क्या मिलती थी ?

گیانی جی - ایس - مسافر : جو تیسری بات جو میں اس سلسلہ میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں وہ یہ کہ ہمیشہ یہ قاعدہ ہوتا ہے کہ اگر کوئی ممبر اپنی پارٹی چھوڑتا ہے اور دوسری پارٹی میں جانا چاہتا ہے تو اس کو چاہئے کہ جانے کے پہلے وہ اپنا استعفا دے - پہلے اس کا استعفا منظور ہو تب اس کے بعد وہ کسی پارٹی میں جاکر شامل ہو اور کچھ عہدہ لینا چاہتا ہو تو لے مگر ہاؤس تو یہ بات سنکر حیرانی ہوئی سبھاپتی جی ! میں آپ کی وساطت سے یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہاں کے کچھ ممبرس نے اپنی پارٹی

[گیانی جی - ایس مسافر]

کے وقت ایک گروہ آیا اس نے ایک مہاجن کو پکڑا اور اس سے کہا کہ ہم کو پون کمار کا گھر بتاؤ - اس کو اپنے ساتھ اس کے گھر تک لے گئے اور وہاں سے اس کی نوجوان لڑکی کو اٹھا لیا - اس واقعے کے دن ایس - جی - اور ایس - آئی - وہاں موجود تھے - اور وہ لڑکی ڈاکوؤں نے ۱۷ ہزار روپیہ لے کر واپس کی - اس طرح کچھ اور مثالیں میرے پاس موجود ہیں - گوہانہ - مانسا منڈی - لہرا گاگا اور شیر گڑھ ایسے گاؤں ہیں جہاں سے دن کے وقت ڈاکو لڑکوں کو اٹھا کر لے گئے اور کافی روپیہ لےکر ان کو واپس کیا -

جیسا کہ ہمارے منسٹر صاحب نے ابھی فرمایا یہ بات ٹھیک ہے کہ اس وقت بھی وہاں ۶۰ گاؤں ایسے ہیں جہاں عملی طور پر کمیونسٹوں کا راج ہے - ایسا کیوں ہے - آج یہ دعویٰ کیا جاتا ہے کہ جو یونائیٹڈ پارٹی کی مہجارتی تھی اس کو توڑ دیا گیا ہے - میں یقیناً یہ کہتا ہوں کہ اگر تین کمیونسٹ ممبر اس طرف مل جاتے تو وہ شاید ہاؤس میں بازی مار لے جاتے - مگر کمیونسٹوں کا تو یہ طریقہ ہے کہ ایک منسٹری بنانے میں تو وہ شامل ہو جاتے ہیں مگر اسے قائم رکھنے میں شامل نہیں ہوتے - وہ دوسری طرف ہو جاتے ہیں کہ اسے توڑ دیا جائے - اس لئے ان کے

کہ یہاں جو بھی منسٹری ہوئی اس کا حکم چلے گا - ہماری کوئی منشا نہیں ہے کہ ہم کسی ڈھنگ سے اس منسٹری کو کمزور کریں - ان کی یہ تقریر میں نے اپنے کانوں سے سنی -

تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ان باتوں کی موجودگی میں یہ کہنا کہ سرکار ہند کا کوئی منشا تھا کہ اس منسٹری کو کمزور کیا جائے - یا وہ کسی غیر کانگریسی منسٹری کو برداشت نہیں کر سکتی تھی - یہ بات بالکل غلط ہے - یہ کسی طرح بھی ماننے لائق نہیں ہے -

لا اینڈ آرڈر کے متعلق میرے بھائی نے کہا ہے - ہو سکتا ہے کہ اس سے پہلے بھی جو حکومت تھی اس کے زمانہ میں بھی وارداتیں ہوئی ہوں - مگر یہ بات تو بالکل سورج کی طرح روشن ہے کہ پچھلے دنوں میں کچھ ایسے واقعات ہوئے ہیں جن کی وجہ سے وہ اسٹیٹ منسٹری یا سرکار ہند جو کہ یہ چاہتی تھی کہ وہاں کی ہلچل نہ ہو - وہ مجبور ہو گئی یہ ماننے کے لئے کہ سچ مچ وہاں لا اینڈ آرڈر کی حالت خراب ہے - چند ایک مثالیں میرے پاس ہیں - ایک گاؤں ہے تلونڈی صابو جس کو دمدمہ صاحب بھی کہتے ہیں - وہاں دن

on P.E.P.S.U.

بلائے ہوئے جج کی آنکھوں سے آنسو نکلوا دئے تھے - وہ واقعی سکھوں پر مصیبت کا وقت تھا اس وقت ان بڑے سرداروں کو کوئی دکھ محسوس نہ ہوا - سبھا پتی جی میں ایک مثال آپ کو دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس وقت کتنا دکھ تھا - اور یہہ جو کہتے ہیں کہ ہم پر اس وقت بڑا دکھ ہے - وہ اس کے سامنے اس کا مقابلہ کریں - میرے ایک دوست تھے جرنلسٹ اُن کا نام تھا سردار امر سنگھ - وہ ایک اخبار نکالتے تھے - جس کا نام تھا لائل گزٹ - آپ اس نام سے ہی سمجھ سکتے ہیں کہ وہ انگریزوں کے کتنے وفادار تھے - لیکن انہوں نے بھی اپنے بچوں کو بلا کر ایک روز کہا کہ میں جیل جاتا ہوں - اب میں نہیں رہ سکتا کیونکہ اس وقت سکھوں پر دکھ کا وقت ہے - چھوٹے چھوٹے بچے تھے - انہوں نے کہا کہ ہم کیسے گزارہ کریںگے - انہوں نے بچوں سے کہا کہ میں تاریخ میں یہ نہیں لکھوانا چاہتا کہ ایک سکھ کا بچہ جس میں سکھ کا خون تھا جب سکھوں پر مصیبت کا وقت آیا اس وقت وہ جیل میں نہیں گیا میں ایک سکھ باپ کا بیٹا ہوں - اس لئے میں ضرور جیل جاؤنگا -

میں ایک اور مثال دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ سکھوں پر مصیبت کا وقت تھا جب کہ ماسٹر تاراسنگھ جی نے لاہور گوردوارہ کمیٹی صاحب میں کہا تھا کہ سکھوں پر اس وقت مصیبت ہے - بھروسے جنہوں نے ساٹھ گاؤں پر قبضہ کیا ہوا ہے اور لگان وصول نہیں ہونے دیتے کسی منسٹری کو قائم رکھنا مجھے ناممکن سی بات نظر آتی ہے -

سبھاپتی جی : میں آپ کی اجازت سے دو منٹ ملت میں ایک بات اور کہنا چاہتا ہوں - کہا گیا ہے کہ اس سے سکھوں کو ناراضگی ہوگی - مجھے اس بات کا پتہ بھی لگا ہے کہ کچھ بڑے بڑے سردار سکھوں نے کئی موقعوں پر اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کرتے ہوئے یہ کہا ہے کہ سکھوں کو نقصان پہنچ رہا ہے - انہوں نے اس پر بڑے دکھ کا اظہار کیا ہے - اور جیل جانے کی تیاری کی ہے میں کہتا ہوں - سبھا پتی جی - کہ اس بیسویں صدی میں ضرور ایک وقت سکھوں پر تکلیف کا آیا تھا - جس وقت کہ پنڈت جواہر لال جاکر نابھہ میں قید ہوئے تھے - وہ سکھوں پر ایک بڑی مصیبت اور دکھ کا وقت تھا - جس وقت پنڈت موتی لال جی اپنے آنند بھون کے پیلیس سے اٹھکر جون جولائی کی گرمی میں اپنے لاڈلے کو نابھے کی جیل میں دیکھنے آئے تھے - وہ وقت سکھوں کے لئے بڑی تکلیف اور دکھ کا وقت تھا - وہ وقت وہ تھا جب مہاتما گاندھی جی نے اکالی تخت صاحب میں آکر دکھ کے آنسو بہائے تھے وہ وقت تھا جب پنڈت مالویہ جی نے عدالت میں جاکر سکھوں کا کیس پیش کرتے ہوئے انگریز سرکار کے

[گیانی جی - ایس- مسافر]

اِس وقت جو مدد نہیں کریگا وہ سکھ کا بچہ نہیں ہے - انہوں نے یہ بھی کہا تھا کہ اس وقت اگر گورو ہماری مدد نہیں کریں گے تو ہم کہیں گے کہ وہ ہمارے گورو نہیں ہیں - یہ ان کے لفظ تھے کہ جو سکھ مدد نہیں کریگا وہ سکھ نہیں ہے اوز اگر گورو ہماری مدد نہیں کریں گے تو ہم گورو سے بھی منکر ہو جائیں گے - جو سکھ اس وقت انگریز کے زمانہ میں چپ چاپ بیٹھے رہے اور جن کو کوئی دکھ نہیں ہوا - آج وہ سکھ کہتے ہیں کہ ہاں ہم پر بڑا دکھ ہے - میں مانتا کہ ان کو بڑا دکھ ہے اگر وہ اس وقت انگریز کے زمانہ میں سامنے آتے اور سکھوں کے درد میں شامل ہوتے جس وقت کہ آل انڈیا کانگریس کمیٹی نے اپنا دفتر امرتسر میں جاکر کھولا تھا - سکھوں کی مدد کرنے کے لئے - اس وقت جن سکھوں کو جوش نہیں آیا آج وہ کہتے ہیں کہ سکھوں کو بڑا نقصان ہوا ہے ہم قانون توڑینگے میری سمجھ میں یہ بات نہیں آتی - میں بھی سکھ ہوں - میں بھی چاہتا ہوں کہ کسی ڈھنگ سے سکھوں کا بھلا ہو - مگر میں دیکھتا ہوں کہ یہاں پر اس مسئلے پر کوئی بھی گڑبڑ پیدا کرنا کسی ڈھنگ سے بھی ٹھیک نہیں ہے -

میرے پاس ٹائم نہیں ہے - میرے پاس اور بھی بہت سی باتیں کہنے کو تھیں - مگر میں سبھاپتی جی آپ کی اجازت نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے اس سے زیادہ کچھ نہیں کہنا چاہتا ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ کہنا کانگریسی سرکار وہاں کسی دوسری وزارت کو سنٹرل سرکار دیکھنا نہیں چاہتی تھی بالکل غلط ہے اس بات کا کسی کو قطعی خیال نہیں ہے - میرا جو کچھ کانگریس آرگنائزیشن سے تعلق ہے - اس کی جانکاری کی بنا پر میں کہتا ہوں کہ کانگریس ہائی کمانڈ کی طرف سے تو یہ کوشش کی گئی کہ وزارت قائم رہے اور وہ صوبہ بھی اچھے ڈھنگ پر آ جائے اور دوسرے صوبوں کے ساتھ ہو جائے چاہے وہاں وزارت کسی بھی پارٹی کی ہو - یہ بات میں اپنی جانکاری سے کہتا ہوں -

(English translation of the above speech.)

Giani G. S. Musafir (Amritsar): Mr. Chairman, on the day the Constitution was suspended in PEPSU, a big funeral procession was taken out and an effigy of democracy was burnt to express the feeling that democracy had been buried there. In my view the proper time for doing so was not when the Constitution was suspended, but much earlier than that. I do not call this occasion as opportune, because at this time, democracy has actually been made safe and it was during the regime of the Ministry that democracy had no value.

If you study the events you will realize how often members changed sides. Out of the 60 members of the House, 13 changed sides not once, or twice or thrice but four times. If this is called democracy, then that is the end of the matter.

My friend S. Lal Singh has laid great stress on the point that the Government of India, or in other words the Congress Government, could not tolerate a United Front Ministry. My hon. friend B. Ramnarayan Singh, who is a member of long standing would

agree with me that S. Lal Singh's assertion is totally incorrect. If the Government of India or the Congress Central Government wanted only a Congress Ministry to function there, then the Congress Ministry there could not have been thrown out, and no other Ministry, even if one was formed could have carried on. I know that when the Congress Ministry was formed there, five Ministers and two Deputy Ministers were appointed. It repeatedly requested the States Ministry that as there was no full-fledged minister from among the Scheduled Castes, permission may be given to appoint a sixth minister to represent the Scheduled Castes. The Central Government did not agree to this. But, one may criticize the States Ministry and the Central Government on the fact that when the United Front Ministry was formed there, it was given permission to appoint the sixth Minister in order to strengthen and stabilize the Ministry. Nobody can deny this. I think Babu Ramnarayan Singh would, in his usual emphatic manner, support my view.

Sir, there is another point which I would like to place before the House through you. A member against whom there were serious charges and against whom a case was going to be started was sought to be included in the United Front Ministry, but the States Ministry did not allow it in the first instance. But you will be surprised to know that at the insistence of the leader of the United Front, the States Ministry went out of its way to give permission for appointing this gentleman against whom there were charges as Minister simply to strengthen the United Front Ministry.

Some Hon. Member: What were the charges?

Giani G. S. Musafir: There were very serious charges, about which I would not like to say anything here. But it is a fact that in the first instance the request was turned down but later on it was acceded to. This strengthened the Ministry to some extent.

Dr. N. B. Khare: This is what is called corruption.

Giani G. S. Musafir: It is said that the Congress Government was against this Ministry. I say that it only wanted to see a stable Ministry, to whatever party it might belong. Someone expressed the fear that in the fresh elections the Congress might not be able to win. Our leaders replied that it did not matter even if not a single Congress candidate won; they only wanted to see a strong party and a stable Ministry and not the Ministry of any particular Party.

The third point is the allegation made in certain quarters that the Sikhs have been punched in this matter. I might recall the fact that since the inception of democracy in Pepsu, some person from outside has always been appointed as Chief Secretary there with a view to securing efficiency of administration usually a person from another State or a good administrator from the Centre was sent there. It was the Chief Minister of the United Front who for the first time suggested that a person belonging to Pepsu would be more suited to the administration and requested that he might be allowed to appoint a Chief Secretary of his own choice. The States Ministry accordingly agreed to the appointment of Sodhi Jaidev Singh as Chief Secretary. He is an able man and I do not object to his appointment. My point is that our Central Government was keen on having a good administration in Pepsu. That is why it accepted the request of the leader of the United Front and pointed out to him that it would accept any proposal of his which was conducive to better administration.

Sardar Lal Singh: On a point of order. I want to enquire from you whether my hon. friend is in order in disclosing (*Interruption*).

Some Hon. Members: There is no point of order.

Sardar Lal Singh: There is. My hon. friend is disclosing talks or discussions that took place in the States Ministry. May I know whether he had access to them, or whether he was being consulted, because he represents Punjab and not Pepsu?

Mr. Chairman: There is no point of order in this.

Giani G. S. Musafir: If S. Lal Singh takes exception to this it is open to him to contradict this.

Sardar A. S. Saigal: What was the salary drawn by him?

Giani G. S. Musafir: My fourth point is that according to an accepted practice, any member who wishes to leave one party and join another, must resign first. After his resignation is accepted he can join any other party and take office under it. But, Mr. Chairman, the House would be interested to

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know that the States Ministry allowed some members leaving their party to make the new pledge before resignations were accepted, so that the United Front might have no objection. They made the pledge before the receipt of their resignations in the office. This is what I have been told.

As I have been connected with the Congress Party and the Congress organization, I have been noting these things and I have always objected to such things. After Dr. Katju returned from PEPSU, complaints of Congressmen there reached my ears that his visit, in effect, had strengthened the United Front Ministry. They paid more attention to his advice than to the advice of others. Once I had occasion to accompany Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri on a visit to PEPSU. A mammoth public meeting was held at Bhatinda and almost the whole of the people of the town had gathered. There I heard with my own ears Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri declaring that the Government of India was not interested in having the Ministry of any particular party and telling the people that the will of the Ministry functioning there would prevail and that they had no mind to weaken this Ministry in any way. In view of these things it would be totally wrong to say that the Central Government wanted to weaken this Ministry or that it could not tolerate any non-Congress Ministry. None can believe this.

My hon. friend has referred to the law and order situation. Of course, there were incidents during the regime of the previous Government too, but it is as clear as daylight that on account of the incidents which have occurred in the recent past, the States Ministry or the Central Government which did not want any disorder, was convinced that the law and order situation there was really precarious. I can give certain illustrations. In village Talwandi Sabo, also called Damdama Sahib, a band of dacoits caught hold of a Mahajan and ordered him to direct them to the house of one Pawan Kumar. He was forced to accompany them to his house, from where his young daughter was abducted.

The S. P. and the S. I. were present on the day of the occurrence but the girl was handed back after payment of a ransom of Rs. 17 thousand to the dacoits. I can give some more examples. Dacoits have kidnapped boys in broad daylight from the villages of Goniana, Mansa Mandi, Lehragaga and Sher Garh and have returned them after extorting considerable sums of money.

As the hon. Minister has just said, it is true to say that practically Communist rule prevails in 60 villages there. Why is it so? It is alleged that the majority of the United Party has been broken. I can say with certainty that even if three Communist members had gone over to that side, they would perhaps have secured a majority in the House. But the Communists, who are prepared to help form a Ministry do not help in letting it continue. They go over to the other side, so that the Ministry may be dissolved. To me it seems impossible to expect that they, who have occupied 60 villages and who prevent the collection of land revenue, would help in keeping a ministry in office.

It has been said that a wave of resentment would spread among the Sikhs. I have also come to know that some prominent Sikhs have expressed their resentment against the alleged injury being caused to Sikhs and have made preparations for going to jail. Mr. Chairman, I must say that in this twentieth Century there was certainly a time when the Sikhs were beset with troubles and hardships. It was the time when Pt. Jawaharlal was imprisoned in Nabha and his father Pt. Motilal, leaving his palace at Anand Bhavan had come to see him in jail in the gruelling heat of June. Those were really hard times for the Sikhs. It was in those days that Mahatma Gandhi shed tears at Akal Takhat Sahib and Pt. Malviya, presenting the case of Sikhs in a Court set up by the British, had moved the Judge to tears. That was really a time of calamity for the Sikhs. At that time these leading Sardars felt no pain. They should compare the situation which was obtaining then with the present situation and decide. I had a journalist friend named S. Amar Singh. He ran a newspaper called the "Loyal Gazette". From this name, you can form an idea as to how loyal he was to the British. Even a man like him gathered his children together one day and told them that he could not tolerate it any longer; he must go to jail, as it was a critical time for the Sikhs. The children were minors. They protested that they would not be able to support themselves. But he told them that he, the son of a Sikh did not want it to go down in history, that at a time when a calamity had

befallen the Sikhs, he had refused to go to jail. As Sikh blood was coursing through his veins, he must go to jail.

I may give another example. Those were hard days for the Sikhs when in Gurdwara Dera Sahib, Master Tara Singh appealed to the Sikhs for help and declared that those Sikhs who did not come forward would not be true Sikhs and that even if the Gurus did not come forward to help, he would disown them. Those Sikhs, who at that time during the British regime kept silent and aloof and felt no pain, who did not feel enthusiastic when the All-India Congress Committee opened its office in Amritsar to help the Sikhs, today declare that serious harm is being done to Sikh interests and that they would break the law. I cannot understand it. I am also a Sikh and I want the welfare of Sikhs in every way, but I say that creating any kind of disturbance in this connection would not be proper.

I would like to refer to many other things, but I have no time. I would only say that it is totally wrong to say that the Central Government cannot tolerate any non-Congress Ministry there. On the strength of the information I have on account of my association with the Congress organization, I can say that the Congress High Command actually endeavoured to keep a Ministry, irrespective of its party affiliations, in office, so that Pepsu should progress and come on par with other States.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: It is rather unfortunate that while discussing this matter of importance we should be dragged into any controversy as regards the merits or demerits of the claims that may be put forward by the Sikh community. My approach to the problem would be not in consideration of any particular community, but in consideration of the claims of the people living in that State.

The Home Minister, the Minister of States, elaborated a little too much on the point that Government was not being actuated by any party considerations while taking this extraordinary step. In fact, with all apology to Dr. Katju, it seemed the lady was protesting too much. After all the fact remains that PEPSU was the one Ministry in the whole of India which was a non-Congress Ministry and it was, therefore, necessary for the Government to be extra careful in applying the emergency provisions of the Constitution. My hon. friend who spoke just before me, I believe, did disclose certain secrets or certain information which he possessed, but one thing he said was very damaging to the States Ministry. We are talking about corruption, about inefficiency, maladministration and so forth. The hon. Member just now said that with regard to some of the Ministers at any rate, who according to him were very undesirable—I do not know that—in PEPSU, they were selected with the special approval of the States Ministry and the States Ministry gave their consent knowing their undesirable character, because they wanted to see perpetuated in PEPSU a non-Congress Ministry! What an argument! What an argument from a supporter of the Government! It is not possible for us to know all this, because we have not got the materials before us—(*Interruption*). I am not going to yield—barring the little romantic story we had from the hon. Minister, as to what exactly was happening in PEPSU. We had some list of dacoities, robberies, murders, etc. Well, unfortunately, there are many States in India where in portions of some States (*An Hon. Member*: Bombay State) such serious occurrences are going on. (*An Hon. Member*: Delhi). It is a tragedy that we cannot avoid them. What is the special report the House has got? We are told the Rajpramukh has submitted a report. Where is that report? I would like to see it. Why is it not placed before Parliament? It is not an easy matter when Parliament is being asked to set its seal of approval on a matter like this. It is suspension of the Constitution, and suspension of the Constitution in relation to a State where the ruling party in the country is not in charge of the affairs of that State. Therefore, it was necessary, as I said, for the Government to have been extra-careful in placing before us facts and materials which would go to show that it was impossible, in the opinion of the President, for the Constitution to function in that State.

What is the main fact that has been given? Election petitions are pending. Are they not pending elsewhere? What is the immediate reason for promulgating this order? The order of the Election Tribunal, setting aside the election of the Chief Minister? Is that by itself such a serious occurrence? He is not at fault? Give him a chance. He might have been asked to stand for re-election within a month or so. If you want to base your argument on this that the policy of the Government of India or the President is that it would not like to see functioning in any State in India a Ministry which has not a clear and a comfortable majority in the House, I can understand it—although I doubt

[Dr. S. P. Mookerjee]

whether the provisions of the Constitution could be made applicable to such a case. But if you do that, look to your own house. We had the story about the Orissa Ministry. There the Congress Party had not a majority. The rebels from the Congress, who stood at the last General Elections in defiance of the Congress mandate, have been—what shall I say—cajoled to come into the Congress Party so that they might have a majority. What about Madras? How has a majority been formed there? How was Shri Rajagopalachari called upon to become the Chief Minister? He was nominated Chief Minister.

Shri B. S. Murthy: Even today.

Shri G. P. Sinha (Palamau *cum* Hazaribagh *cum* Ranchi): But you have seen the voting results.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Yes, I have seen. But many other results also you will have to see, only if you have the patience.

There the Chief Minister was not in office at all; he was nominated Chief Minister. Is there anything in the Constitution which permits that? There is nothing to prohibit it, as was the case under the old Government of India Act.

What has happened with regard to Rajasthan? You are talking about a particular meeting of the Legislative Assembly in PEPSU being postponed. Is not Dr. Katju aware of the fact—when the Ministry in Rajasthan, the Congress Ministry in Rajasthan, ceased to have a majority in the House and when a no-confidence motion was tabled, and when the day on which the motion was to be considered came, who asked the Speaker to give an adjournment? And what happened during the next few days during which the Congress Ministry was again allowed to have a majority? The no confidence motion could not be moved. These are telling facts.

What is the position of Travancore-Cochin? Is there a comfortable majority for the Congress Ministry there?

You have got to look at all these cases if you really, sincerely and genuinely accept this proposition, that the Government of India wants to see established in every State a Ministry which has a comfortable majority in that Legislature. I am not so much against it. But if that is your principle, apply it consistently, genuinely, sincerely with regard to all the States in India.

What were the alternatives which were open to you? Dr. Katju knows very well that the Constitution gives him ample powers for directions to be issued to the PEPSU Ministry. Were such directions issued? Is not the House entitled to ask what were those directions which were issued to the PEPSU Ministry when those serious matters, to which reference has been made by the hon. Minister, were not being carried into effect by that Ministry? And what reply did the PEPSU Ministry give? We are entitled to that information.

Again, may I draw the attention of the House to articles 352 and 353 of the Constitution? It is not necessary for you to take recourse to article 356 and completely put the Ministry, which is in power with the majority of the votes of the members of the House as then composed, out of operation. You could have partially brought the authority of the Central Government over the affairs of that province. The articles in the Constitution are there. There are stages indicated. You might have taken over law and order, of which Dr. Katju is so fond and in which he is such a proficient master. He could have easily taken that in his own hands and shown what sort of a model law and order he is going to establish in PEPSU. The PEPSU Ministry would have submitted itself to his authority without any compunction.

All these matters are embodied in the Constitution. But you do not do anything of the kind. The Chief Minister loses his seat as a result of an election petition. You do not give him a chance to stand for re-election. There are by-elections pending, and in two of the by-elections the Congress was defeated and the party in majority in the PEPSU Legislature has come out successful. You do not allow the other seats to be filled by by-elections. You do not order that within the next one or two months all the remaining seats which have been declared vacant on account of election petitions should be re-filled by by-election. You waited for so many months. Why did you not wait for a few months more and allow all these seats to be filled by by-election and meanwhile take charge of law and order under the provisions of the Constitution? What answer can you give? It will not do for Dr. Katju to get up and say: I do not mean to interfere with any other political party. It will not be relevant for me on this occasion to say things which

have come to my knowledge in the last few days and make interesting revelations in regard to the manner in which law and order is administered under the authority of the hon. Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, Home Minister of the Government of India. But if any occasion arises, and if I am free, I hope I shall be able to tell even my friends who may be sitting opposite to me as to how this administration of law and order is being carried on under the distinguished patronage and guidance of Dr. Kailas Nath Katju.

But the point is that you did not take advantage of any of these provisions of the Constitution. Why do you do so? We are entitled to draw conclusions from your conduct. And your conduct is that you want to see uprooted from only one State, where a non-Congress Ministry is functioning, that Ministry and want to create conditions so that when the next elections take place you will have a Ministry of your choice. We are having President's rule. We are placing officers there. Dr. Katju said in his speech: well, look at these Part B States, they have no experience in administration as we fortunate people in Part A States have; there is corruption, inefficiency, there is manipulation made by officers. Now does he want to play a little of this manipulation with regard to this period of rehabilitation through which PEPSU will have to pass under the directive guidance of Dr. Kailas Nath Katju? I suppose that that is the sort of programme he has in view. At any rate people become suspicious, because the facts are not placed before us.

He has referred to the activities of the Communist Party. I have no love lost with them. They like to put their dagger into me and metaphorically if I can do so I will return the compliment. It is not a question of my liking or disliking the Communist Party. If the Communist Party functioning there had a vestige of foothold in some areas in PEPSU, the remedy is not the President's rule, the remedy is for your party to be a little more active and to undo the mischief which the Communists might be doing. If you think by supression by the doing. If you think by, suppression, by the President's rule and by the Preventive Detention Act and all the other weapons that Dr. Kailas Nath Katju has in his pocket, you can uproot all the different political parties from the country, I may tell him that he will soon find that he is living in his own paradise. That is not going to happen so easily. I say if the Communist Party has done anything unlawful or dangerous, ban the Communist Party in PEPSU. Bring out the Communist Party workers who are doing such things. He has been telling us that some areas are out of Government control. Who were those people? Why can you not prosecute them? Why can you not bring them to book. Why can you not send troops from here and take charge of particular areas? You say Government is not functioning. It is not a disgrace on the PEPSU Government. It is a disgrace on Dr. Kailas Nath Katju who cannot enter into his area.

Dr. Katju: On a point of order. Can any hon. Member refer to a Minister by his name over and over again?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I agree, Sir.....

Dr. Katju: If he thinks that he brings others into contempt, he is very much mistaken.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: At least once I have succeeded in seeing Dr. Kailas Nath Katju losing his temper. I withdraw. I shall not mention his name at all. I shall only say Home Minister of the Union of India.

The point which I am stressing is this. It is a very serious matter. The Home Minister gets up here and says that in this State of PEPSU there are certain areas where law and order has ceased to function. I would like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that it is not a party question at all. For that the remedy is not by undoing the Ministry that is in power. What help was offered by the Government of India and when did the Government of India come to know that such a state of affairs has come into existence—that, in a particular State in India and in particular areas, particular groups of villages the Government's writ does not function? It will not do for Government merely to transfer the blame on the PEPSU Ministry. Therefore, I would say that the procedure which has been followed is wrong—a procedure which can be followed in case of real emergency which is not proved. Those of us who are familiar with the circumstances under which such provisions have been put into the Statute book remember very well that we were extremely anxious that they should be applied only in cases of grave emergency and there also we have made out gradations so that Government could not abuse its power. In the case of a State where a non-Congress Ministry was in power, it was doubly necessary for the Government to have placed full facts and materials and to have satisfied the House that the Government have ex-

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plored all other possible avenues and when they have found no other means except by having recourse to article 356, they have decided to do this. For this reason, I am unable to extend my support to the resolution which the hon. Home Minister has moved, and I would beg the hon. Members who belong to the ruling party not to look at it from the point of view of the party itself; if you want to see democracy established in this country, what you are doing is just to sound the death-knell of democracy and for these developments you are creating precedents for which you will not be happy in your leisure moments, if any; neither will you be able to hand over anything to posterity for which you may feel proud.

Shri Sarangadhar Das (Dhenkanal—West Cuttack): It is really a surprising thing for the Home Minister and Minister of States to talk about breakdown of law and order in PEPSU and that for that reason the Constitution is being suspended there. At the present time the United Party has got 26 members out of a total strength of 51, nine members having been unseated, while the Congress has only 20. It is well known that after the General Elections there were certain States, particularly like Madras and Orissa where the Congress was in a minority and yet, the Constitution was not suspended there. Within a few days or weeks, the Congress High Command—the High Command consists of members of the Government and nobody else—managed to have Rajaji, as a nominated member of the Madras Council, to form a Ministry and become its Chief Minister. In the same way in Orissa, the minority was made into a majority by bringing in all kinds of people. Probably the Ministry even today is in a tottering condition because the Adivasi members might leave the Congress any time. The Congress had given them the name "Adivasis' Congress". Now-a-days the leader of that party says that he belongs to Adivasi or Jharkhand Party. In these places such a necessity has never arisen, nor in the States where there are dacoities, murders, etc. For instance in Madhya Bharat, a part of Vindhya Pradesh, a part of Uttar Pradesh and in Saurashtra—Bhupat's country—all kinds of things are happening for months and yet, the Government of India does not announce the President's rule in those States. As Dr. Mookerjee has pointed out, there is absolutely no doubt that because PEPSU has a non-Congress Ministry, the President's rule has been brought up and as I whispered at the time because the Home Minister says so many times, I say "the lady protested too much". It is the desire of the Government of India to finish that PEPSU Ministry and the United Democratic Party and consolidate the Congress during this period of President's rule so that the Congress may be able to come in a majority and a Congress Ministry may be formed there.

In this connection, I wish to refer to the discussion of these articles when they were taken up in the Constituent Assembly. Here is what Mr. Kamath had foreseen. He said:

> "There are grave dangers lurking in the article brought before the House today. The dangers are that on the pretext of resolving a ministerial crisis or on the pretext of purifying or reforming maladministration obtaining in a particular State, the President may have recourse to this article 278."—Now it is 356; the number is changed—"I am sure that this article is not meant to resolve any ministerial crisis that might arise in any particular State for which the remedy lies elsewhere. The remedy lies in the dissolution of the Legislature by the Governor and a reference to the electorate."

Then, there was a question by Pandit Kunzru:

> "May I ask my hon. friend Dr. Ambedkar to make one point clear? Is it the purpose of articles 278 and 278A to enable the Central Government to intervene in provincial affairs for the sake of good Government in the provinces?"

Dr. Ambedkar said:

> "No, no. The Central Government is not given that authority."

Pandit Kunzru asked:

> "Or only when there is such misgovernment in the provinces as to endanger the public peace?"

Dr. Ambedkar said:

> "Only when the Government is not carried on in consonance with the provisions laid down for the

constitutional government of the provinces. Whether there is good Government or not in the provinces, it is for the people to determine. I am quite clear on the point."

Further on, he said:

"The proper thing that we ought to expect is that such articles would remain a dead letter. If at all they are brought into operation, I hope the President who is endowed with these powers will take proper precautions before suspending the administration of a province. I hope the first thing he will do would be to issue a mere warning to a province that has lagged, that things were not happening in the way in which they were intended to happen in the Constitution. If that warning fails, the second thing for him to do will be to order an election allowing the people of the province to settle the matters by themselves. It is only when these two remedies fail that he would resort to this article. It is only in those situations that he will resort to this article. I do not think that we can then say that these articles were imposed in vain or that the President had acted wantonly."

It is very unfortunate that the communication from the Rajpramukh, describing the conditions in the State is not before us. It should be before us. Otherwise, it is impossible to judge why it has become necessary to suspend the Constitution there.

Again, take a recent thing. When the Home Minister talks of law and order in PEPSU, as far as I remember, the case of those States, Patiala, Nabha and so on, was rather peculiar. When the States Ministry brought the State of PEPSU under its direct control, it took about three years, and the law and order situation was the same as it is today; or as some of my friends from the Punjab claim, it is better. If it is better, so much the better. I want to know from the States Minister what he was doing in those three years when the law and order situation had not improved.

Dr. N. B. Khare: He was in the state of dynamic neutrality.

Shri Sarangadhar Das: There is no use talking about law and order in these small Part C States. Take the States in Part A or Part B, particularly Part B, for which the States Ministry has got a lot of responsibility. What is happening in Rajasthan? What is happening in Madhya Bharat? What is happening right here in Delhi? Sir, you will be interested to know what has happened to three distinguished Members of this House who were detained. Their case came before the Supreme Court and they have been released by the Supreme Court from detention. Here in Delhi the Home affairs are directly in the hands of the Home Minister. We find the police failing in their elementary duty when effecting the arrest and remanding to custody three hon. Members of this House. Government must be thankful that the Supreme Court has merely ordered release and not passed any strictures on the conduct of the police.

Mr. Chairman: I think the hon. Member need not go into the details of that matter.

Shri Sarangadhar Das: I am not going into the details, Sir. But the matter that I am referring to will no doubt come out in the near future and then the doings of the Home Ministry for the maintenance of law and order will be fully exposed.

For these reasons, I oppose the resolution. I do not see that the Home Minister has made out any case at all.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I listened with some amusement to the anecdotage which came from the hon. Minister of States and also to the formidable ejaculations made by my hon. friend from the Punjab, Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir. But, I feel that as far as the resolution is concerned, no case at all has been made for it.

We know that there must be some sort of a rotten state in the PEPSU. There is no doubt about that. But, the steps which are being proposed by the Government of the day are by no means intended to set the crooked straight, because, if Government really wants to put an end to the rotten state of PEPSU, then, other steps would have been taken. For example, the Rajpramukh, who in the context of what happened recently might be described as Charles I was described by the English Parliament as the 'moth of all goodness' should have been sacked first of all. He should have been suspended. Something ought to have beet done in order to register the disapproval of all decency in regard to activities which have gone on in PEPSU, which have led to the present state of things. Or, if Government

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wanted to show its *bona fide*, then they could proceed and take steps for merging the scattered uncompact areas of PEPSU into an understandable State. If Government were serious about its own intentions, regarding agrarian reforms, which have been talked about by the hon. Minister of States, then Government could have done a great deal more about it than what it has done. But nothing of that sort has been done. On the contrary we find Government trying to take shelter in a most equivocal fashion behind an article of the Constitution. I found a Mark Twain quotation which said that in statesmanship 'you get the formalities right, never mind about the moralities'. I do not know if Government has the same intention. I hope the legal advisers of Government have at least tried to see that the legal loopholes are not there, but I am sure, as far as the desirability, let alone the morality, of this procedure is concerned, Government has not proved its case at all. Even in regard to the formalities also, there are certain points which have already been alluded to by my hon. friends Dr. Mookerjee and Mr. Sarangadhar Das, they have not been abided with.

I tried to find out what exactly was in the minds of the makers of our Constitution, when they invested our President with certain emergency jurisdictions. I know that many of our erstwhile Constitution-makers are arrayed on the other side, but I wanted to find out what was their mental reaction when they were operating in the more rarefied atmosphere of the Constituent Assembly. I know very well what their reactions are now when they are puffed with power and the pride which goes with it. I looked up the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly in 1949, to some of which reference has been made by my hon. friend Mr. Sarangadhar Das, and there I discovered that it was said unequivocally, particularly on the insistence of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, that the Central Government was not going to be invested by these emergency provisions with power to interfere in the activities and the constitutional life of the States, unless a very grave situation had arisen. It is absolutely clear that article 356 can be exercised only after certain formalities have been observed, only when all other constitutional means have failed, constitutional means such as giving directions, giving a warning, ordering elections, and that sort of thing. But nothing of that sort has been done, and as Dr. Mookerjee pointed out, we do not even know the kind of report which has been sent by the precious Rajpramukh of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union.

As I said earlier, there is no doubt that there is a regrettable state of affairs, which has persisted for some time in PEPSU. Dr. Katju has waxed very eloquent on that point. I recapitulate some of the facts which, of course, are very well known. The Congress Ministry under Col. Raghubir Singh had to resign, and then there came the Rarewala Ministry, which started, it seems, manoeuvring for position—I am quoting the words which were used by the hon. Minister of States, on a prior occasion. This reference to manoeuvring for position by each party, by securing adherence from the opposite camp, went on in a manner which is extremely unsavoury, and which throws a lot of light on the working of the Congress brand of democracy. It is a sad reflection on the crudity and cupidity of Congress members, at least as far as PEPSU is concerned. The hon. Minister wants restoration of sound administrative conditions. He used the expression 'restoration of sound administrative conditions', which, desirable as it may be, is no valid reason for the invocation of article 356 of the Constitution. It is only on the failure of constitutional machinery and not otherwise, it is only on the happening of that contingency that you can proceed on the basis of article 356, which we are told, the President is now requisitioning in order to assume powers on to himself. In order to cover up this menage, this rather unsavoury mess of things, Dr. Katju, the hon. Minister of States, has tried to sound very plausible and has tried to take shelter behind this talk about agrarian reforms. He said that he is very keen on these agrarian reforms going through. There I would like to pin him down. I would like to say that it is exactly in reference to agrarian reforms that the Central Government has shown its teeth against the interest of the people. There is no doubt about that. As far as we are concerned, in PEPSU, our position has been and is very clear. We know that Rarewala, the outgoing Chief Minister, who is the uncle of the Rajpramukh of PEPSU, is a dyed-in-the-wool sort of communal reactionary. We know also that the Raghubir Singhs of PEPSU are similarly big landlords, who are hand in glove with such elements as the Raja of Faridkot, and the feelings of the people about either of these groups are such that I do not wish to characterise them in the language which really fits. But I am reminded of the 18th century, when in London, the people had a doggerel

about the parties which were fighting inside the House of Commons, and the doggerel ran somewhat like this:

"What this rogue loses, that rogue wins,

All are birds of a feather,

Let us damn the 'outs' and damn the 'ins',

And damn them altogether."

If you do not like this particular doggerel, I shall quote Shakespeare to you, and say that as far as we are concerned, we told these groups: "A plague on both your houses", you are both behaving in dastardly fashion, as far as the interests of the people are concerned, and we tried to do what we could in the circumstances. We sat there and utilised our strategic position by insisting that the Rarewala Ministry or any other Ministry, if it were going to continue, must do something in order to further the interests of the people, and we may say that to a certain extent we got some little results. It is not very much. There is not much to write home about, nothing to make a song about, but we could do something. And here is a statement issued in December—on the 3rd December 1952—by Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala in which he castigates the Communists in PEPSU, but where he tries to list a number of measures which his Government had passed or was striving to get through the Legislature, which would be somewhat ameliorative of the condition of the people. And I must concede that there are certain measures which had been pushed through, which have brought about a certain improvement in the condition of the peasantry. There are certain Bills, as for instance, the Bill to deal with the tenants-at-will, by fixing *batai* and giving them certain rights to acquire ownership. This benefited 50,838 tenant families, and about 40 per cent. of the cultivable area of PEPSU was coming within the ambit of this particular benefit. This is one example of the kind of thing which we could extract. I do not say we ever went out of our way to compliment the Rarewala crowd, but we tried to see that the interests of the people were not given the go-by, and to a certain extent, we succeeded.

But lo and behold, what do we see? We see that as far as the Government is concerned, they do not like this kind of thing at all. I am sorry that the hon. Minister of States has gone out for the time being—he has left no stone unturned—I see him coming now, and I shall repeat that he has left no stone unturned by means of visits and otherwise to see that whichever measures were good for the interests of the agrarian people were hindered and made infructuous. I say it as a challenge. I accuse the Central Government of this country that a united front of reactionaries had to be set up, because that alone would satisfy their objectives. Therefore they tried this method in an area, where the living conditions of the people, and their natural born militancy irresistibly drove them towards a somewhat basic transformation of society. It was exactly in that area, that they wanted to get these two rival groups, fighting, jealous landlord groups together. That is why confabulations had happened over and over again in PEPSU, in order to bring the Rarewala and the Raghubir Singh crowds together and behind it can be seen the spectre of the Rajpramukh and the feudal scum of a decaying social order that is passing.

And when you see it in this context, it is only then that you realise the gravity of the conspiracy; it is then exactly that we can find out why this extraordinary measure, this extra-constitutional measure has been adopted in regard to PEPSU.

There is another aspect of the matter to which, fortunately, because you are trying to ring the bell, I find.....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has got two minutes more.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: In any case, there is another aspect of the matter to which fortunately for me, because you say there are only two minutes to go, reference has already been made by other speakers. I am glad reference has been made by other hon. Members, because we are rather closely concerned with this kind of political vindictiveness on the part of the ruling party. I refer to the fact that while the Congress Government talks, shall I say, foam-at-the-mouth fashion, against totalitarianism, its practice is very remarkable! Whenever it thinks, wherever the Congress is not strong in the Legislature, the Damocles' sword of Presidential rule must hang, and this particularly is to be seen in the case of Andhra where a new province is announced to be in a process of formation.

In connection with this, you must have seen reports in the papers about the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee and on the basis of the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee, as reported in the papers, a Congress newspaper, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, which in

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its editorial of the 7th March applauded the President's action in regard to PEPSU, writes about Andhra as follows:

> "If the Congress Party manages to have a decisive majority in the Legislature of the new Andhra State, the problem will be solved. But if the Congress Party does not get a majority, or in case the majority is too small for a stable Government, the President may have to intervene and take over the administration as he has done in PEPSU."

Now, this is common talk all over the place in regard to Andhra, in regard to Hyderabad, in regard to Travancore-Cochin; the Damocles' sword of the employment of the President's emergency jurisdiction is always hanging over particularly those elected Legislatures where the Congress does not have a comfortable majority. I could have understood it if the Congress had come forward with an understandable programme of work, if the Congress had come forward definitely against the Rajapramukhs, if the Congress had ordered expedition of the bye-elections which are in the offing, if the Congress had seen to it that the present constitutional machinery, whatever its faults, was maintained for the time being and if the Congress had directed quick disposal of measures in favour of agrarian reform. I could then have understood the situation, but in the absence of any *bona fide* effort to ameliorate the condition of the PEPSU people, I consider this an extremely drastic violation of the rights of the people, and as such, I oppose the resolution.

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): I beg to support the resolution moved by the hon. the Home Minister. To use a common phrase, there must be something rotten in the State of PEPSU. Law and order have been completely violated, sanctity of life and property has been set aside. Whether we agree with our opponent or not, we have to uphold the sanctity of life and sanctity of property. We may not enjoy that property, but we cannot destroy property which has been reared by the sweat and labours of any man or person. We have now come to a drastic stage of having the Proclamation by the President under article 356. The 'A' class States number nine, the 'B' class States number eight and the 'C' class States number ten and in one of the 'B' class States, the President has exercised the discretion of issuing a Proclamation.

My hon. friend Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, whose presence we welcome in this House—we would like to have him here rather than elsewhere—raised an important point whether the President should submit to this House the report of a Rajapramukh or a Governor. This is a very moot point. There has been no decision on this point. But I would like to submit that the report of a Rajapramukh or the report of a Governor sent to the President prior to the Promulgation of action under article 356 could not perhaps be open to this House for the simple reason that it is a report of a very high officer sent *bona fide* in the discharge of his duties and may or may not be produced before this House. I would like, at some time or other, a decision either by the hon. the Speaker or even perhaps by a test case in the Supreme Court, on whether the report sent by a Rajapramukh or a Governor to the President is open to this House before action under article 356 is promulgated.

Something has been said in this House about the position of the Sikhs. I do not think that in this Union of India, governed as it is under the ideals of a secular State, any action has been taken against any particular community and that any action has been prompted by the deeds, by the good deeds or misdeeds, of any community. We are the greatest admirers of the Sikh race. They are a valiant race; they have spilt their blood on all the battle fields of the world; right from France to Hong Kong, the graves of the Sikh soldiers lie. They have borne the brunt of the battles of freedom with the strength of their arms and courage and we offer them a great tribute of praise. But be that as it may, we cannot also be participants in any kind of action which subverts the character of the State. I would lay down this maxim—that no community should exert an influence or threaten to exercise an influence beyond its own numbers, except on character, on public service and on its conduct as patriots. My own community of Christians or the community of Sikhs or any minority community in this country or in any other democratic country shall not exercise influence or threaten to exercise influence which is not warranted by its numbers except on character and public service. By this test alone, whether it be a Sikh or a Muslim or any minority community or anybody, the foundations of a secular State shall be built up. By this alone we can keep this country going; otherwise, if each community demands

more influence than its numbers warrant, we shall have the destruction of the ideals of our State. Some friends may come and tell me: 'Oh, the Hindus are in a majority. They can exercise that influence'. I would say, 'certainly, as long as they are in a majority, you cannot thrust them into the sea or drown them or put them in a barricade or throw them out'. As long as each community has its numbers, it may exert an influence, but beyond that number it shall not threaten to influence the ideals of the secular State except on the basis of character and public service as also on the high ideals of patriotism.

As I said we are the greatest admirers of the Sikh race. In the State of PEPSU it is agonising to see these bedchamber politics when Ministries change overnight, when people throw away their loyalties and fling them into the dust-bin. Or perhaps we might enact the scenes which have been enacted in France when one Ministry topples down almost every month and comes another. I have not had the joy of seeing PEPSU, but I had the pleasure of the acquaintance of the Rajapramukh and the Maharaja of Faridkot and of Master Tara Singh during the Simla Conference. I miss my friend Sardar Bhopindra Singh Mann, who was a Member of this House and also a member of the first Ministry there. It was my fortune or misfortune to go to the Simla Conference when the fate of India went down the hill and when partition became a sore and pressing problem. In 1945 I watched with great but pathetic interest Mahatma Gandhi going up to Mohammed Ali Jinnah's house in Bombay for 18 days. I also watched our Prime Minister and Mahatma Gandhi going to Lord Wavell in Simla during the Conference, and also certain decisions which became inevitable because of certain things which happened in the streets of Lahore when partition became inevitable. We shall not repeat these things. We shall not have this kind of anarchy or disorder by which the foundations of secular State are being shattered. If perhaps it is inevitable that under article 356 PEPSU shall be taken over, it shall be taken over. No argument shall be trotted out that something happened in Bombay and you cannot do it in PEPSU. Bombay is the most efficiently and well administered State in India and what perhaps holds good in Bombay cannot hold good anywhere else. With these few words, Sir.....

6 P.M.

Mr. Chairman: I will just appeal to the hon. Member to finish early for the hon. Minister has to reply.

Shri Joachim Alva: I offer my unstinted support for the resolution moved by the Home Minister and hope that within a period of six months or within a year at the most, things would be planned up so much so that like a ripe fruit from the tree falling, PEPSU may be ready for a democratic State of Government.

Prof. Agarwal (Wardha): To our very great regret amazing things have been happening in PEPSU during the last one year. PEPSU in the right sense of the word has become the playground for politicians. It has become a kind of arena for all selfishness and political opportunism. When I say this, I say of all parties including the Congress. The Congress believes in self-criticism, in self-examination and when the Congress leaders found that things were happening and going beyond the limits, they cried halt to it and ordered an enquiry into the affairs. We do not want to mince matters. But, I want to ask, is that the way in which democracy should function in this country, especially in a border State where you do not know who is who. Everybody changes colours and coats—I am talking of all parties. People talk about other States, Rajasthan, Orissa and Madras. But can anybody point out to me that those people who co-operated with the Congress were offered Ministerships and Deputy Ministerships. What happened for example in PEPSU? The United Front Party originally consisted of 23 Akalis. There were two Independents. (*Interruption*). There were seven others who joined them later.

Shri Punnoose: I would draw the hon. Member's attention to what happened in Travancore-Cochin.

Prof. Agarwal: Out of the seven persons who joined purely out of opportunism, it is remarkable, six were taken, one as Speaker, the other as Deputy Speaker, two as Ministers and two as Deputy Ministers. (*Interruption*). This is an amazing state of things and still people talk of Rajasthan. What happened in Rajasthan? Have we offered any Ministership to persons? A few persons have come. I may say for the information of the House, several people who acted against the Congress at that time have not been taken into the Congress and will not be taken into the Congress. There are several applications pending of people who want to come. We do not want to encourage this sort of democracy in this country. It raises several constitutional points. It is for the country to consider what kind of independence is growing up in our democratic set-up. In PEPSU all these people who have been changing from

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one side to the other happened to be independents and they have no loyalties to any party. Of course, they say that they are free to join this side or that side. But, I hope, the public of this country will benefit from this example in PEPSU and see that in future people belonging to well organised parties with definite purposes only are encouraged and not independents who do not have any loyalties to one party or the other.

In PEPSU it is said that the States Ministry wanted to help the Congress. I can say with full confidence that the States Ministry was all the time feeling embarrassed because of all this, and what should have happened some months ago happened now. We do not want to take any advantage. We have been telling everybody and I say it now that Congress is not out to capture power anyhow. Of course, we have enquired into the affairs of the Congress also and we are determined to set our own house in order. Let others also do so. I would welcome that and it is entirely for the electorate to do whatever they like. We are prepared to be in the wilderness in PEPSU. It does not matter at all but the thing that we decry here is that in the name of democracy all sorts of things should not be allowed to function any more.

A word about law and order in PEPSU. People have said, "Well, there are dacoits elsewhere". But, in PEPSU what are the conditions? Out of the eight districts, in about four districts there has been complete panic during the last few months. Dacoit gangs operate almost throughout the State and there is evidence of crime in many places, all kinds of crimes, so much so that even vehicular traffic on the main roads is not able to ply peacefully. There are about 60—and some say 80—villages where there is parallel Government—although my friends opposite may not admit it. Here all sorts of taxes are being collected in the name of the parallel Government, all punishments are imposed and the Ministry that has just gone out felt helpless. They wanted to cling to power somehow. There are large collections of unauthorised arms and in spite of all instructions from the Counsellor the Ministry failed to take any action against them or try to seize them. That is not the way in which any State, particularly a border State, should be allowed to function. Therefore, I would plead with you that whatever has been done in PEPSU was overdue and it has been done not for this party or that party but for maintaining law and order in a State which can ill afford to let democracy run loose.

About the Government servants in that State also, I would like to say a few words. Representations have been pouring in—and they have appeared in the Press—that many Government servants, including some high officials, openly sided with some parties during the recent elections and even in the discharge of their ordinary duties. I would plead with the States Minister to order a kind of impartial enquiry into all this. He says that he wants to hold elections in a fair and tranquil manner. If the States Ministry is keen on this, they must punish those who may be found guilty. Otherwise, if the same officers are allowed to go on there, I do not think we can have any hope of holding fair elections in that place. (*Interruption*). We are discussing today PEPSU; therefore, I am talking of PEPSU. Everywhere if a Government servant interferes, he must be punished and we must enquire into his conduct.

Dr. Mookerjee spoke with a little bit of bitterness and his bitterness is quite understandable. He was trying to take the hon. Home Minister's name all the time in a humorous and funny manner. Well, I was very much surprised because the hon. Member formerly spoke with restraint and in a parliamentary way, but today I think he somehow imbibed the PEPSU atmosphere and I do not think.....

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna): On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: What is the point of order?

Shri V. G. Deshpande: The hon. Member mentioned that another hon. Member has imbibed the PEPSU atmosphere. It is an insult to both of them.

Mr. Chairman: There is no point of order.

Prof. Agarwal: Therefore, I would say that those who really talk of democracy in this country should also know and realise that law-makers cannot be law-breakers in this country and they cannot encourage law-breaking. Therefore, if we want to set up healthy traditions in this country, we must—at least Members of Parliament—stand for maintaining peace in this country and then only we can set our house in order in PEPSU and elsewhere.

Shri Nandhari (Fazilka-Sirsa) *rose*—

Mr. Chairman: Yes—I find that hon. Members are clapping. I appeal to them not to do so, but hear the hon. Member patiently.

Shri Namdhari: Sir.....

Some Hon. Members: Speak in Hindi.

Shri Namdhari: If I do, my South Indian friends will not understand.

Mr. Chairman: Let him address the Chair.

Shri Namdhari: I was fed up by hearing that only the non-Congress Ministry has been superseded by the President's rule. I am simply surprised. I wonder whether those who say this are sleeping or awake. Where there is complete law and order, naturally the Central Government do not interfere, but the question is whether there is a stable Ministry or not. In PEPSU there were three Parties and each one was adopting a frog-policy, that is, jumping this side and that, and the Ministry was unstable. In Punjab, there was an overwhelming majority for the Congress, but when the Central Government found it in the interests of the masses, they were honest enough and did not care whether it was a Congress Ministry or a non-Congress Ministry, and suspended the Congress Ministry. I want to remind the critics on the other side about this, and ask them what reply they have. Had this PEPSU affair been the first attack, they could have exploited it, being professional agitators, but the first attack was on the Congress Ministry in Punjab, where due to instability the Congress Ministry, which commanded an overwhelming majority, was suspended.

I belong to a frontier constituency. During my last tour, I went to Thana Nathana Ferozepur district. It borders on PEPSU. My hon. and noble friend, Sardar Lal Singh, said that there is disturbance of law and order even in Punjab, Ferozepur district. Well, naturally there is, because Ferozepur of Punjab borders on PEPSU, and if a good charactered girl comes in contact with a bad character, naturally the effects will be there. People cannot even go out to collect their cotton. Murders and dacoities are common. I do not want to explain them in detail. I halted at Giddobha police station and the magistrate told me, "Better take two armed constables. You are our representative in Parliament. Since there is a lot of lawlessness, we find it our duty to give you protection". But I felt insulted to take two constables, but since the magistrate felt it his duty, we had to take their help. If we, Members of Parliament, could not tour without police help, how can ordinary people move about?

Recently I had been to celebrate Holi in PEPSU area. On my way back, I met an ex-Major who was coming to Delhi. I asked him why he settled in Dhuri now and did not stay in his village. He said that it was impossible for him to live in his village. Even a military officer finds it difficult; and feels unsafe. But these agitators exploit the position in the name of religion. I do not know why great sins they are committing. If in Hyderabad, the majority of the people are Hindus, Hindu majority will have to rule. If in Kashmir, the majority of the people are Muslims, Muslims have to rule. Why should anyone be afraid? If there are 66 per cent. Sikhs in PEPSU, then let the right people come into power and let there be a stable Government. Should a few Sardars, and some professional agitators, who do not look to the public interest, exploit the situation for their own ends? I submit that these people have misled the masses. The Congress is the guardian for the whole nation. Sikhs need not be afraid. As my hon. friend Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir has said, even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru courted arrest in jato *morcha* and the whole Congress gave support to the Akali movement. The Akalis are not bad. It is the leadership which is bad. The masses are not bad. It is the leadership which is bad. Our friends talk of our religious rights being trampled upon. They say that Government has interfered with their religious rights. Sikhs never wanted to join the exploitation in the name of the Praja Parishad. When the Nankana Martyr Day was celebrated, it was celebrated everywhere, even in Amritsar in Gurdwaras on the actual day of martyrs, that is, 21st February, why then they celebrated it in a public place again on 22nd? Section 144 was not used only for the sake of the Akalis; it was promulgated long before. But their action was intended only to mislead the Sikh masses in the name of religion and help the other movements like the Parishad movement. My submission is that Sikhs should follow the policy of their Gurus, who selflessly sacrificed a lot for the sake of the whole nation. The result is that fifty lakhs of Hindus and others baptised to Sikhism and even Master Tara Singh has converted himself from Nanak Chand to Tara Singh, being impressed by the Guru's sacrifices, (*Interruption*).

Mr. Chairman: Let him speak more about PEPSU now.

Shri Namdhari: You have disallowed so many illegal adjournment motions of the Opposition. Otherwise, there is no chance to expose these professional exploiters. This is the only way out. As far as the Sikh masses are concerned, I say this: we are their servants. We are with them. If they want to celebrate Nankana Martyr Day, I am sure even Shri Jawahar Lalji and Congressmen would join them, but it is only to mislead the Sikhs in the name of religion that this public display was held in Amritsar.

Nothing wrong has been done in PEPSU. So much has been said about the Rajpramukh. Nothing unconstitutional will be done. The Rajpramukh, the Maharaja of Patiala, was the first man who put his State into the Indian Union. He gave the lead to all other States and sacrificed first, we should not forget that. If these exploiters have temporarily misled him, we will cure him patiently and fit him in new conditions.

About Dr. Mookerjee Saheb's anger, I have no grievance. He is naturally angry. It would have been better if Dr. Katju Saheb had immunised him first, just like a surgeon, who before operating immunises the patient by first giving some anaesthetic injections. But I do not see why he should have been so much angry and should have indulged in personal talks. I was wondering: the Chairman was there and yet what did all this mean?

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

We have sympathy, but why should there be so much anger? Why should they do such things as put them in trouble? My submission is that in PEPSU nothing unconstitutional has been done. Let the 66 per cent. Sikhs and others elect the right people—the masses will elect them. The Central Government only wants the right people to run the Stable Government—people who will truly represent the masses, and not a few Sardars and professional agitators who do not see public interest first.

श्री चिनारिया (महेन्द्रगढ़) : मैं तो यह समझने लगा था कि पेप्सू की डिमाक्रेसी तो डिस्टर्ब हुई ही है, यहां की भी डिस्टर्ब हुई है । पेप्सू पर डिस्कशन होता है, पेप्सू के चार पांच मेम्बर बैठे हुए हैं, लेकिन अब तक उन को मौका नहीं दिया गया । उन की कोई आवाज ही नहीं है । हमारी जिन्दगी का सवाल हमारे सामने है फिर भी पेप्सू के रहने वालों को वक्त नहीं मिला । खैर, यह शुक्र है कि हमारे घर में खराबी हुई तब एक साल बाद मुझे खड़े होने का मौका मिला, वर्ना शायद किसी को मालूम भी नहीं कि पेप्सू का भी कोई यहां बैठा हुआ है । यहां पर लोग कहते हैं कि यह गवर्नमेंट कांग्रेस को सपोर्ट करती है, लेकिन हाल यह है कि यहां पर हमारी पेप्सू की कांग्रेस को कोई रिप्रेजेन्टेशन नहीं मिलता । घर की बातें तो बाद में कहूंगा । उल्टे इल्जाम लगा रहे हैं । अगर हम कांग्रेस पर इल्जाम लगायें कि वह हमारी मदद नहीं कर रही है तो एक बात है, लेकिन मुझे तो दुःख होता है कि बिल्कुल इस की उल्टी बात कही जा रही है । अगर इस हाउस में मैं एक एक बात बतलाने लगूं तो वह एक घन्टे में भी खत्म न होगी । यहां की मिनिस्ट्री ने, यहां की गवर्नमेंट ने और यहां की कांग्रेस ने कांग्रेस वालों के खिलाफ क्या क्या काम किये हैं । आज कांग्रेस वालों के लिये यह कहा जाता है कि उन्होंने यह कर दिया या वह कर दिया । हमारे दिलों से पूछिये कि वहां के आदमियों को क्या क्या शिकायतें हैं ।

वह लोग कि जिन्होंने क्रास फ्लोर किया है उन्होंने आज नहीं किया बल्कि सन् ४८ में किया था । इस के लिए आप पहले की हिस्ट्री देखिये । मुझे दुःख है कि पेप्सू में डिमाक्रेसी फेल हुई । क्या आप समझते हैं कि इस से कांग्रेस वालों को खुशी हुई थी, ऐसा नहीं है । हमें रंज है कि पहले हमारे यहां पेप्सू में डिमाक्रेसी फेल हुई । कौन चाहता है अपनी बदनामी ? मैं कांग्रेस से ताल्लुक रखता हूं और हमारा हाई कमान्ड और दुनिया जितना वहां की कांग्रेस को कमजोर समझते हैं उतनी कमजोर नहीं है । और

हम दिखा देंगे जब इलेक्शन आयेंगे कि कौन जीतता है। मुझे सिर्फ दुःख इस बात का है कि गलत इल्जाम लगाया जाता है। इस हाऊस में कहा जाता है कि गवर्नमेंट ने कांग्रेस की मदद की है। मैं तो इस हाऊस को मुल्क की सब से बड़ी पंचायत समझता था। मैं बचपन में देहात में यह सुना करता था कि पंच परमेश्वर होता है। परमेश्वर जहां होता है, वहां सचाई और अक्ल होती है। सत और चित के मिलने से परमेश्वर होता है। इसलिये पंचायत में सच्ची बात कहनी चाहिए। लेकिन यहां क्या है? इधर वाले एक बात को चाहे वह सही हो या गलत ही सही कहेंगे और उधर वाले इधर की बात को गलत कहेंगे। तो सचाई पर तो नहीं रहे। अगर डिमाक्रेसी के माने पंचायत राज के हैं तो इस को सच्ची पंचायत बना दीजिये। किसी पार्टी की जरुरत नहीं है। सच्ची बात कहिये। मेरे दिल में जो सच्ची बात मालूम होती है उसे मैं मान लूं, आपके दिल में जो बात सच्ची मालूम होती है उस को आप मान लें। लेकिन वाकया यह नहीं है। मुझे कांग्रेस में आज तीस बरस हो गये हैं। लेकिन खैर। यह दिल की आग थी। हमारे सरदार लाल सिंह जी इस वक्त बहुत सी बातें कर रहे हैं, वह मुझे शाबाशी दे रहे हैं लेकिन शायद आगे नहीं देंगे। यह तो दिल की आग थी वह निकल चुकी। अब दूसरा आदमी बोल रहा है।

मुझे तो खुशी होती अगर आज सरदार हुक्म सिंह जी बोलते। मैं उन को जवाब देता। उन के लिए मेरे दिल में इज्जत है। आप के लिए भी है। लेकिन उन से अपनायत थी। उन को मैं अपना बुजुर्ग समझता हूं। आप ने भी एक लफ्ज कह दिया कि वह सिख मैजारिटी का लाका है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Member must address the Chair and not Sardar Lal Singh.

श्री चिनारिया: तो सिख इलाका है, यह एक बड़ी अजीब सी बात बन गयी है। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में अगर हम हिन्दू और मुसलमान और सिख की बात कहते तब तो कोई बात थी। अंग्रेज ने ही हम को अलग अलग होना सिखाया था। आज हिन्दुस्तान हमारा है। यह कहने से क्या बनता है? सिख कब बने थे। जब मुल्क ने यह समझा कि एक फ़ारेन गवर्नमेंन्ट यहां राज कर रही है उस वक्त सिख बने, काली पगड़ियां बांधी और फौज खड़ी की उन से लड़ने के लिए। अब वह लोग नहीं रहे। उनके बाद आने वाले भी निकल गये लेकिन आज भी वह फौज कहती है कि हम कुछ अलग चीज हैं। तुम तो मुल्क की हिफाजत के लिए थे। अगर मेरा एक भाई आज फौज में भरती हो जाय तो वह खाकी वरदी पहनेगा। लेकिन पेंशन ले कर जब वह घर आये तो उस वक्त भी क्या उस को कहना चाहिए कि मैं तो तुम से अलग हूं, मैं खाकी पहनता हूं? तो वही बात सिखों की है। कोई नयी बात नहीं है। सिख मजहब की मैं उतनी ही इज्जत करता हूं जितनी कि सरदार लाल सिंह या श्री मुसाफिर साहब करते हैं। मैं गुरु गोविन्द सिंह जी की उतनी ही इज्जत करता हूं। और ग्रन्थ साहब में कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं है जिस को कि मैं हिन्दू रहते हुए भी न मान सकूं। इसलिये आज के हिन्दुस्तान में तो सिख के कोई मानी ही नहीं हैं। जो लोग आज सिखिज्म का नारा लगाते हैं वह यह नहीं समझते कि हम सब हिन्दुस्तान के हैं, हिन्दू सिख वगैरह का कोई सवाल आज नहीं है। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में सिख थे, हिन्दू थे, मुसलमान थे, जैनी थे, लेकिन वह चीज तो आज बिल्कुल बदल गयी है।

[श्री चिनारिया]

अभी मेरे दोस्त सरदार लाल सिंह यहां ठंडी हवा में यह बात कह गये कि पेप्सू में तो राड़ेवाला ने स्वर्ग ला दिया था। मिस्टर श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी ने भी कह दिया कि डाके तो बम्बई में भी पड़ते हैं, पहले पड़ते थे और अब भी पड़ते हैं। ठीक है। डाके पड़त हैं, अब भी पड़ रहे हैं और आगे भी पड़ेंगे, लेकिन डाके मालदारों पर ही पड़ते हैं। पर पेप्सू में क्या हालत है ? आप जा कर एक जट्टी से पूछिये कि क्या उस में इतनी हिम्मत है कि वह दोपहर को रोटी ले कर खेत पर अपने आदमी को दे आवे ? उस के गल में एक पचास रुपया का कंठा है, तो उस को डर है कि अगर वह रोटी देने गयी तो यह कंठा लौटेगा या नहीं, हो सकता है कि उसका कंठ भी दबा दिया जाय। उस किसान को पूछिये जिसे वक्त बेवक्त खेत पर जाना पड़ता है, खेती के काम से रात को भी जाना पड़ता है, रखवाली के लिये खेत पर रहना पड़ता है, वक्त बेवक्त बैल ले कर जाना पड़ता है। उस को डर है कि वह बैल ले कर लौटेगा भी या नहीं। यही नहीं उसे यह भी डर है कि मेरी जान भी बचेगी या नहीं। किसान खेती करने खेत पर नहीं जा सकता। यह हालत है। वहां आदमी घर से बाहर नहीं जा सकता। यह हालत तो किसान की है। दुकानदार और पैसे वाले की तो मजाल क्या है कि इधर से उधर भी जा सके। मेरे दोस्त लाल सिंह जी चाहते हैं कि फाईव इअर प्लान भी आ जाय, सेल्फ सफीशेंसी भी हो जाय, लेकिन वहां यह हालत है कि किसान को यह पता नहीं कि वह खेत से वापस भी आ सकेगा, कैसे व्यापार हो सकता है, कैसे कोई सिनअत वहां हो सकती है ? उसे अपनी जान का डर है, इस तरह कैसे कोई काम हो सकता है ? यह चीजें वह नहीं देखते। यही नहीं बसें ठहरा कर लूट ली जाती हैं..

श्री जी० एस० सिंह (भरतपुर-सवाई माधोपुर) : सरकारी कर्मचारी तो वही रहेंगे।

श्री चिनारिया : अंग्रेज ने दो चीजें ही तो यहां छोड़ी हैं। आज भी हम उन्हें चला रहे हैं, एक तो ब्यूरोक्रेटिक सिस्टम और दूसरा यह निकम्मा ऐजूकेशन का सिस्टम जिस से आदमी के हाथ पैर ही निकम्मे हो जाते हैं। वह किसी काम का नहीं रहता। यही दो चीजें अंग्रेज छोड़ गये हैं। पर हमारे पेप्सू में तो एक तीसरी चीज है जिसे काकाक्रेसी कहते हैं। अभी कल मिस्टर मोरे ने दो चीजें बताई थीं, एक देशमुखक्रेसी और एक दूसरी मोरोक्रेसी। मगर हमारे यहां एक तीसरी काकाक्रेसी है। इधर मालूम नहीं काका से क्या समझते हैं पर हमारे पंजाब में काका से बेटा समझा जाता है। हम बेटे को काका कहते हैं। तो पेप्सू में बड़े बड़े फ्यूडल लैंडलार्डस के लड़के बड़े बड़े ओहदों पर और पुलिस में काम करते हैं। इसीलिये कहने को तो वहां डेमाक्रेसी थी लेकिन वहां तमाम सरविसेज पार्टीज के साथ शामिल थीं। कोई काम हो यह पूछा जाता था कि तुम किस पार्टी में हो। अगर पुलिस में रिपोर्ट भी लिखना है तो यह पूछा जाता था कि तुम किस पार्टी में हो, किस पार्टी से ताल्लुक है। यह डिमाक्रेसी वहां पर वर्क कर रही है।

मेरे दोस्त यह कहते हैं कि गलत चीज कर दी गयी है, कांग्रेस की रिआयत की गयी है। अगर रिआयत की गयी है तो उस जनता के साथ की

गयी है जो कि उस गवर्नमेंट से दुःखी थी । मैं नहीं कहता कि कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट हो या कोई और हो । हमारे यहां के नेताओं को तो शायद ख्याल भी नहीं होगा कि वहां कांग्रेस थी भी । मुझे तो शक है कि उन्हें आया ख्याल भी है कि नहीं कि कांग्रेस वहां थी । मगर उन्होंने आजादी आते ही इन्हीं राड़े-वाला साहब को प्राईम मिनिस्टर बनाया जो आज अमृतसर में जा कर सत्याग्रह कर रहे हैं, वरना उन को कौन जानता था, एक सरकारी अफसर थे, राजप्रमुख के रिश्तेदार थे, लेकिन पालिटिक्स से उन का क्या वास्ता था। यह यही कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंन्ट है जिस ने कांग्रेस को भुला कर राड़ेवाला को आगे रख कर चीफ मिनिस्टर बनाया, और एक बार नहीं, तीन चार दफा उसी तरह से बनाया । तो आज अगर वहां कहा जाय कि कांग्रेस कमजोर है और कांग्रेस को मजबूत करने के लिये यह किया जा रहा है तो बिल्कुल गलत है । "ईं ख्यालस्तो महाजल्तो जनू अस्त" में तो यही कहूंगा ।

अभी तो असली बात में ने कही ही नहीं, बहुत सी बातें कहनी थीं ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are two more Members. They belong to PEPSU. One is Shri Ranjit Singh and the other is Shri Ajit Singh. They want to speak.

श्री चिमारिया : अगर दो साहबान न बोल रहे हैं तो उन का वक्त भी मुझ को ही दे दिया जाय ।

Shri Ranjit Singh (Sangrur): PEPSU is the only State in India where the Sikhs are in a majority. Six months before the General Elections a Congress Ministry was set up in PEPSU. Really speaking, there were two main parties in PEPSU before 1947, the Akalis and the Congress. The Akalis were entirely neglected and left out from the Ministry.

The Congress Ministry appointed polling officers and returning officers of their own choice. The returning officers rejected the nomination papers of many candidates without valid reasons. The result was that thirty-one election petitions were filed, and ten members have been unseated. Of these eight members belong to the United Front Party and two belong to the Congress Party.

In the mean time the Chief Minister, Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala was also unseated on mere technical grounds. Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala was re-elected Leader of the United Front Party. He approached the Government with a request that he should be allowed to carry on for six months and that in the mean time he would get elected. But this was refused by the Central Government. The members of the United Front Party also approached the Central Government with a request that they were prepared to elect another Leader in place of Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala. But this request of theirs was also rejected by the Central Government.

In the mean time the members of the Congress Party were feeling shaky on account of the coming by-elections. The general feeling amongst the people was that in the coming by-elections the United Front Party would sweep the polls and the position of the United Front Party would be stabilised and later on it would be very difficult for the Congress Party to dislodge them. The result was that President's rule was proclaimed, and the United Front Party, the only non-Congress party, was pulled down against all principles of democracy. This unfair and unjust treatment was never expected from the Central Government.

An Administrator or Adviser has been sent there with full powers from Delhi to rule PEPSU. I want to ask the Government why they could not find any man or why they could not trust any man from PEPSU who could be made Adviser there.

I think that the Adviser's rule will not last very long. Free and fair elections will be held very soon and the people will have elected Ministers in six or eight months' time.

I have seen in the paper today that the Adviser has said that he has been sent to put down lawlessness and violence in the State, secondly that he wants to bring land reforms, and thirdly that he has gone there to discourage communalism.

Well, let me say about the land reforms that we are for it and we want it, and we want that this matter should

[Shri Ranjit Singh]

not be delayed at all. Our position is quite clear on this matter.

Regarding the question of lawlessness and violence, well, I would like to bring to the notice of the Government that there are certain other reasons, and unless those reasons are removed I doubt very much whether any law and order can be restored there. The simple position is this. There is a disparity, a great disparity, between the people. There are those people who play in gold, who are very rich, who own 80 per cent. of the wealth of PEPSU and who have control practically of the whole trade of PEPSU. This is the position of one section. The other section is ill-clothed and under-fed; they live in *kucha* houses and live in filth. As long as this disparity is not removed I doubt very much whether the law and order position could improve to any considerable extent. I would, therefore, request that this disparity should first be removed.

I would like to give you one example of this disparity by which the other section is made rich, and that is that gram in PEPSU was controlled and the controlled rate was Rs. nine or Rs. eleven per maund. This Rs. nine used to go to the landlords—you may call them feudal lords, tenants, labourers—that is 80 per cent. of the total population used to get between Rs. nine and Rs. eleven per maund. Now, take the other side. The very gram has been sold, exported outside from PEPSU at the rate of Rs. 15 to Rs. 35 per maund. Look at the difference in the disparity. This is the main cause of trouble.

I would like to ask you who are the feudal lords? There is much talk about these feudal lords. Is it not the people getting Rs. 18 or Rs. 19 per maund sitting under fans in shops who are actually the feudal lords? They have all control practically over the trade. I venture to say that every one felt happy that the United Front Party was able to dislodge this party. Another friend of ours was able to dislodge them from the Congres Party also. Those people have got no backing. Col. Raghubir Singh was elected President of the PEPSU Congress Committee. The other group left the Congress. These are the people who have brought the downfall of the Congress there.

I have said enough about these things. Now, I want to make one more point. That is PEPSU may be divided into two parts, one being the area in which Punjabi is spoken and the other where Hindi is being spoken. I do not wish to say much about Hindi speaking area because elections from the Kandaghat and Nalagarh constituencies took place on the 4th and the result was announced on the 5th and both the candidates of the United Front Party were declared elected. (*Interruption*) I am not talking about the Congress candidates. I am for the Congress. I believe in a policy of non-communalism. I do not know why my friend is so much worried about these things.

About the Hindi speaking area I do not want to say anything but I must bring to the notice of the Government that there are 44 constituencies in the Sikh area and out of these, I will take out only one constituency which is a doubtful one, the constituency of Malerkotla where there are more than 10,000 Muslims. I would appeal to my Sikh brothers that they should not do anything that may create unpleasantness with the Government. I appeal to them that they should think twice before they take any action in PEPSU or Punjab. No Government can be formed in Punjab or PEPSU on communal lines. Government can be formed only on non-communal lines.

I would earnestly request the Government to be more liberal, rise to the occasion, accept the legitimate demands of the Sikhs, remove their grievances and take them into confidence. If this is done, I am sure the Sikhs will prove an asset to the country and they will be prepared to shed their last drop of blood for the sake of the country.

श्री अजीत सिंह (कपूरथला-भटिंडा—रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियां) : पेप्सू के बारे में मेरे मुअज्जिज़ दोस्तों ने बहुत कुछ कहा है और आनरेबल मिनिस्टर ने भी हम को बतलाया है कि यूनाइटेड फ्रंट पार्टी के मेम्बरों की तादाद भी कम थी, दूसरे वहां लालेमनेस बहुत ज्यादा है और वहां कोई कानून और कायदा नहीं चलता है, इसलिये उन्होंने राड़ेवाला मिनिस्ट्री को तोड़ दिया और प्रेसीडेंट का शासन स्थापित करने पर मजबूर हो गये। लेकिन मैं आप को बतलाऊं कि बात सिर्फ़ इतनी सीधी नहीं है जितनी कि बतलाने की कोशिश की जा रही है। हक़ीक़त यह है कि श्री तलवार जैन कांग्रेस के कार्य और संगठन के बारे में जांच पड़ताल

करने और चैक करने पेप्सू गये ताकि कोई टीका वगैरह लगाकर हो सके तो कांग्रेस को वहां फिर से शक्तिशाली बनायें, लेकिन उन्होंने वहां पहुंच कर कांग्रेस की हालत देखी तो पता चला कि यह तो मुर्दा हो चुकी है और यहां कांग्रेस संस्था जिन्दा नहीं हो सकती चाहे नश्तर लगाया जाय या और कुछ किया जाय। तब लाचार हो कर उन्होंने वहां से वापिस आने पर हमारे गृह मंत्री और प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब को बतलाया कि पेप्सू में कांग्रेस खत्म हो चुकी है और यह सोचा गया कि अभी और कोई तरीका अपनाना चाहिए जिस से कि हम जिन्दा रह सकें। उन्होंने जो यह राजप्रमुख रूल स्थापित किया है, यह लोगों के साथ कोई रिआयत नहीं है बल्कि उन का गला घोंटा गया है। राजप्रमुख का राज्य सरमायेदारी का राज्य है और वहां पुलिस को अनरिसट्रिक्टेड पावर है कि जा कर वह लोगों की बहू बेटियों की बेइज्जत करे और यह वाक़या है कि पुलिस लोगों पर जुल्म और ज्यादतियां कर रही है और जब राजप्रमुख ही स्वयं राजा है तो पुलिस जुल्म और सख्तियां करने से क्यों हिचकेगी ?

मिनिस्टर साहब ने लालेसनेस का जिक्र किया तो मैं उन को बतलाऊं कि राड़ेवाला मिनिस्ट्री से पहले जब पेप्सु में कांग्रेस मिनिस्ट्री थी तो मैं ने अपनी आंखों से देखा है और मैं खुद उन गाड़ियों में सफर करता रहा हूं जो गाड़ियां लूटी गयीं, कांग्रेस की हुकूमत में वहां गाड़ियां लूटी गयीं हैं। आज हुआ यह है कि युनाइटेड फ्रंट मिनिस्ट्री को बदनाम करने के लिए और उसको भंग करने के लिए गलत गलत प्रोपेगेंडा किया जाता है। मैं आप को बताऊं कि मानसा के श्री देशराज जो पहले मिनिस्टर थे उन्होंने पांच छः दिन के लिए एक लड़के को कमरे में बन्द कर दिया और अखबारों में यह लिखा दिया कि डाकू उठा ले गये, और पांच छः रोज के बाद बच्चे को बाहर निकाल लाया गया। हमें इस का पता लगा और मालूम हुआ कि यह लोग किस तरह प्रोपेगेंडा कर के युनाइटेड फ्रन्ट मिनिस्ट्री को बदनाम कर रहे हैं। मैं पूछता हूं कि लालेसनेस का जिक्र किया जाता है, तो क्या दूसरे सूबों में लालेसनेस नहीं हो रही ? भूपत डाकू को लोग हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर नेहरू जी से भी ज्यादा जानते हैं। पेप्सू के लिए कोइ मेम्बर खड़ा हो कर मुझे बतलाये कि वहां का ऐसा कौन सा डाकू है जिसे लोग नेहरू जी से ज्यादा जानते हैं ? इस के अलावा मैं आप को बतलाऊं कि मेरे गांव के साथ ही फीरोजपूर का इलाका लगता है, वहां के दो आदमियों को मार कर पुलिस वालों ने हमारी हदूद में फेंक दिया और उन को हमारी हदूद में छोड़ कर कह दिया कि पेप्सू में वारदातें ज्यादा होती हैं और आये दिन कत्ल व लूटमार होती है, वहां लालेसनेस बहुत है, अस्ल में अपराध तो उन्होंने किया और बदनाम हम को किया जाता है।

दूसरी बात में जनरल इलेकशन के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। उस के बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि अभी पीछे जो जनरल इलेकशन हुआ था, उस वक्त वहां पर कांग्रेस की मिनिस्ट्री तो नहीं थी, केयर-टेकर गवर्नमेंट बनायी गयी थी, मैं आन्रेबिल मिनिस्टर के सामने यह बात रखना चाहता हूं तथा प्राइम मिनिस्टर से भी यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि अगर आयन्दा इलेकशन पेप्सू में प्रेसीडेंट और राजप्रमुख के रूल के अन्डर होंगे तो इलेकशन फेयर नहीं होंगे और पार्शियिलटी होगी, इसलिये मेरा सुझाव है कि लास्ट गवर्नमेंट को इलेकशन के वक्त केयर-टेकर गवर्नमेंट बना दिया जाय तो ठीक होगा।

अब मैं रिजेक्शन आफ़ पेपर्स के बारे में आप को बतलाना चाहता हूं। और साथ

[श्री अजीत सिंह]

ले कर बतलाऊंगा कि वहां पर कांग्रेस के दो भूतपूर्व मिनिस्टर श्री जैलसिंह और सम्पूर्णसिंह ने डिप्टी कमिश्नरों के सामने बैठकर मुखालिफ पार्टी के कई आदमियों के नामिनेशन पेपर्स रिजेक्ट करवाये और अपनी पार्टी के उम्मीदवारों के मंजर करवाये ।

मुझे एक इन्स्टेन्स याद है । हमारी पार्टी के कैन्डिडेट के मुकाबले में एक नछत्र सिंह को कांग्रेस टिकिट मिला हुआ था । उस आदमी की उम्र मुझ से भी चार पांच साल कम है । जब वह नामिनेशन पेपर ले कर आया तो आबजेक्शन हुआ कि उस की उम्र तो सिर्फ साढ़े बाइस साल है । वह है तो मेरा रिश्तेदार, मैं जानता हूं पेप्सू के मिनिस्टर सरदार सम्पूर्ण सिंह धौल कहने लगे कि उस की उम्र बहुत ज्यादा है और उस डिप्टी कमिश्नर को धमका कर उम्र ठीक करवा दी और उस का नामिनेशन पेपर भी ऐक्सेप्ट करवा दिया । इसी तरह एक इन्स्टेन्स ज्ञानी जैल सिंह का है । फरीदकोट में उन के पेपर रिजेक्ट हो जाते हैं लेकिन कोटकपूरा में ऐक्सेप्ट हो जाते हैं । यह है उन लोगों का इन्साफ । आप ने कहा है कि पेप्सू वालों को डिमाक्रेसी का पता नहीं है कि वह क्या चीज है । लेकिन मैं कहता हूं कि पेप्सू वालों को डिमाक्रेसी का पता लग गया है । पहले पेप्सू वाले न जानते हों लेकिन अब उन के साथ और पंजाब वालों की कुछ थोड़ी थोड़ी बातें होने लगी हैं और वह लोग इकट्ठा हो गये हैं, और इकट्ठा हो कर उन में अक्ल आने लगी है ।

जहां तक पार्ट बी और पार्ट सी ट्रेट्स की बात है वह तो आप जानें या आप की सरकार । लेकिन उन लोगों को इन्साफ चाहिये और हम इन्साफ पाने के लिये यहां आये हैं । आप के लिये हंसी की बात हो तो हो क्योंकि आप मेजारिटी में हैं, जो चाहे कीजिये ।

एक और बात है । हमारे यहां जो प्रेजिडेन्ट्स रूल किया है उस से मुझे तो यह शक होता है कि पेप्सू का जो आने वाला बजट सेशन था उस में वहां की यूनाइटेड फ्रन्ट पार्टी ने दो रेजोल्यूशन रखे थे । एक तो यह था कि जो राज-प्रमुख हैं उन की प्रीवी पर्स कम कर दी जाय और दूसरी वहां लिंग्विस्टिक प्राविन्स बनायी जायें । यह दोनों रेजोल्यूशन ऐसे थे जिन से कांग्रेस हुकूमत जरा मुश्किल में पड़ जाती थी । इसलिये उन लोगों ने यह समझा कि यही अच्छा होगा कि वहां की हुकूमत को ही खत्म कर दो। आखिर उन लोगों ने क्या कुसूर किया था ? जनाब डिप्टी स्पीकार साहब, उन लोगों ने दिन दिन, रात रात, बीस बीस, चौबिस चौबिस गांवों का दौरा किया, जिन के खिलाफ पिटिशन भी नहीं हुई, वह लोग मैजरिटी से जीते फिर भी आप ने उन, को निकाल दिया । आखिर क्यों ? हम इन्साफ चाहते हैं और मैं पेप्सू वालों की तरफ से इन्साफ मांगता हूं कि आप वहां जेनरल एलेक्शन करावें तो पिछली सरकार को केअरटेकर गवर्नमेंट बना दें तो अच्छा होगा ।

Some Hon. Members *rose*—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am not calling any more Members. I thought originally the debate will conclude earlier. Having regard to the fact that a number of hon. Members are interested and as I ultimately found that three hon. Members of this House who come from PEPSU had not been called, I thought it was my duty to place their views also before the House. Originally I had thought of calling the hon. Minister at six o'clock so that we could conclude the debate by seven and then put the question. Having allowed 30 minutes to these hon. Members, I find the House will have to sit till 7-30. I will allow 20 minutes to the hon. Minister and then put the question.

Dr. Katju: We have heard many fine speeches and many legal views

have been expressed. I was rather surprised to hear from my hon. friend, the Member from South Calcutta .....

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: South East Calcutta.

Dr. Katju: .....Member from South East Calcutta—I want myself to introduce this innovation; I think it is a nice innovation or a nice tradition—that if the Government were inclined, they might have had recourse to other articles of the Constitution and my hon. friend read article 352. I rubbed my eyes with wonder and I thought there must be something in it. He knows everything about everything. Article 352 says:

> "If the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance, he may, by Proclamation .....etc."

I quite agree and declare that the security of PEPSU was not threatened by war or external aggression or internal disturbance and there is an end of the matter. The facts are perfectly plain, namely, that Government has broken down. The House has heard one view of the matter. My hon. friend from the Punjab, Sardar Lal Singh said, it was quite all right—there was nothing wrong; there was a majority party—and very charitably attributed motives to the Government of India, as representing the Congress party, of manipulating affairs. The other view was a new flirtation—I am attributing no motives there—a newly born love for other purposes, the forgoing of a great combination of various people, and therefore a new born anxiety for the Akalis, Sikhs and all that. Therefore, you heard, here is a great sin against democracy, democracy is being trampled. My hon. friend quite rightly said with his great eloquence that he would expose the Minister at a later stage. The Minister could only wait and see what comes from this great threat. But, he did not deal with it. He said, if there had been all this disturbance, and all these *panchayats* had been doing all this, you should have acted earlier. It does not concern him as to when it began, when these *panchayats* began operating. He does not know what the States Minister has been doing. The States Minister has been seeing these people almost every week, every fortnight and talking to them. We have got Counsellors; we have got our own machinery there. As soon as information is received from a variety of people, it is passed on to them and matters are discussed. It is only when matters come to reach a certain stage that action is taken. So far as these *panchayats* are concerned, they came to notice from the month of October or November. Then matters began to grow worse and worse. We could not tolerate that.

Then, my hon. friend said something about a Minister. I may tell this; I do not know how far the Prime Minister would like that. I have got a personal liking for the Sikhs; all of us here. They are Indians. We are Indians. We are anxious that everybody should make a great progress. The Sikhs have played a great part in our development. They play a great part in our Army, in our police. They are a great industrial people. I have seen them in Hyderabad; I have seen them in Bengal; they are everywhere. Do you mean to say that there has been any anxiety to crush them, to do away with them, take away democratic rights from them? I quite concede what was said by Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir. If there was any weakness at any time, it was in the direction of the Sikhs because I am anxious, I know what would be said and what might be felt. I wanted to make it clear in my opening short speech. We want in this PEPSU, which the Sikh friends consider their homeland, where they have got a small majority—I do not know how much that majority is—that they should grow like any other State, play their own part, manage their own affairs and that every major question should be decided according to the will of the people: the question of merger and other questions. But I am anxious that they should have complete security in their own land. When I went on tour just for one day or two days, I heard a new phrase. Wherever the train stopped or the car stopped, people would come and say, लाकानूनी बढ़ गई है। I did not understand what this phrase meant. I was told that translated into English it meant "Lawlessness everywhere". There is complete lawlessness. Of course, representations were made and I spoke to the Chief Minister and said that something must be done, and so on. Now, the only motive of introducing this was to give the people a chance to manage their own affairs, and to dec-

[Dr. Katju]

lare their own wishes. People have talked here about crossing-overs as a very light affair. It does not concern me in the least as to whether the person who crosses over is a Congressman or a pro-Congressman or belongs to this group or that. What matters is that this crossing-over is a damnable thing. Of course, supposing something happens here, which goes against my conscience.....

7 P.M.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Is the word 'damnable' parliamentary?

Dr. Katju: I withdraw the word. I said the word in a sort of philosophical sense.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Can we describe Government action as damnable? Would it be parliamentary?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister has withdrawn that word.

Dr. Katju: I said that so that there may not be any opportunity for quarrelling either now or at any time. Let us say that crossing-over is not a very desirable thing, whoever does it. I can understand people crossing-over, when a big question of policy comes in, and members do not agree with their own party. Whether it is this side or that side does not matter. Then it becomes a question of conscience. They either cross over or resign, but if a man crosses over, and within two or three hours after that, he is sworn as a Minister—he may be virtuousness personified—people would start using another phrase about that crossing-over; and I tell you, it prejudices both. It prejudices not only the man who crosses over, but also the party which takes him over. Both lose in public estimation. From that point of view, I suggest that what had happened in PEPSU during the last two or three months was very objectionable.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Has not the Congress done in some States, the same thing, and it is in power today?

Dr. Katju: I would not answer you.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: How can you answer?

Dr. Katju: You only want to interrupt, and the Deputy-Speaker has given me only a few minutes.

What actually happened? There is a House of 60, and nine seats vacant. Very likely another five or six there might be vacant, because there are about 14 applications undisposed of. In a House of 60, supposing as a conservative estimate, there are 16 vacancies, would you call that a normal House, when nearly 25 per cent. of the seats are vacant? Then, the Chief Minister came alopg and said 'I have been unseated. Here is my resignation, not my resignation only, but the resignation of the whole of my Ministry', and the whole Ministry consisted, so far as unseated members were concerned, of only two such persons. He gave in the resignation, and the Rajpramukh was advised 'You better accept'. What should I have done? What should the States Ministry have done in this matter? I submit that Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala, the Chief Minister, behaved, I think, with extreme constitutional propriety on this occasion. I do not want to discuss the previous matters, but on this occasion, he said 'The whole Ministry has gone to ruin. Those two came in under very doubtful circumstances only two months ago, and therefore my Ministry is finished. Here is my resignation'. Having got that resignation, what should we have done? What should the Rajpramukh have done?

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): Dissolved the Legislature.

Dr. Katju: Should we have sent for other people, when the conditions were so unstable, when the Budget was going to be discussed, and the whole thing had to be laid down, and there were these complaints about lawlessness, about complete absence of respect for law and order, when people, both men and women could not cross from one village to another—what to say of night, when they could not go even in daytime?

श्री बहादुर सिंह : आपने कोई प्रेशर तो नहीं दिया उन पर ?

डाक्टर काटजू : किस पर ।

श्री बहादुर सिंह : राड़ेवाला पर ।

Dr. Katju : आप राड़ेवाला साहब को खूब जानते हैं ! क्या वह किसी प्रेशर में आने वाले हैं । मैं तो सिखों को बड़ा

बहादुर समझता हूं, वह बड़े मुस्तकिल मिजाज होते हैं। आपने कह दिया कि प्रेशर में आ गये। बहस के लिए आप अपनी बुराई भी खुद ही करने लगे।

Nothing of the kind. The hon. Member knows it, he can probably teach me lessons. I am a simple man. I do not know what role my hon. friend of the Communist Party wanted to occupy. Well, he was impartial in this way, that he condemned the Congress, Rarewala, and the Rajpramukh and he condemned everybody. He condemned everybody except the *punchs* of the *panchayats*, in about 80 to 90 villages which had taken the law into their own hands, and formed another 'Telengana' in PEPSU, so to say, and wanted to carry on the administration. So far as the Rajpramukh is concerned, the question does not arise. We are not concerned about personalities here. The Rajpramukh is an institution, and in the Constitution, for Part A States, you have Governors, and for Part B, Rajpramukhs. And I believe there is an article which says clearly that the whole of the Constitution relating to Part A States, with minor modifications, is to be applied to the Part B States, and for the word 'Governor', all you have to do is to read 'Rajpramukh'. He is just a constitutional head. If he is guilty of impropriety ,then we have got to deal with him. If he makes a mistake, then you tax us. We are responsible to this House. My submission therefore is that all the complaints about unjust treatment of PEPSU are really unfounded.

Shri S. S. More: Could not the Rajpramukh have taken action under article 174 of the Constitution and dissolved the Legislature? He had that power.

Dr. Katju: I really cannot understand.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): What then?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: The Ministers continue, and the elections take place.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: When the Minister has been unseated, when the Ministry has gone, unseated Ministries cannot go on. What is this?

Shri V. G. Deshpande: When will it take place?

Dr. Katju: I personally think that my hon. friend for whom I have great respect, and who is a great teacher has probably misfired just now.

If the Legislature is to be dissolved, in the first place, the Rajpramukh cannot dissolve the Legislature himself. He can only act on advice. In the first place, the Ministry has tendered resignation.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Before that.

Dr. Katju: In the first process, he could have said, 'I refuse your resignation'. The Minister would say, 'We are unseated. We are very honest and sensible people. We are self-respecting people. So, for God's sake, take our resignation'. Then the Rajpramukh would say, 'No, no, I want you to carry on'. Having done that, the Rajpramukh had to say 'Please advise me to dissolve the Legislature'. And having dissolved the Legislature, these unseated Ministers had to carry on. Just conceive of it.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: They could carry on for six months.

Dr. Katju: I submit that it is the proper course that we have followed. That is exactly what has been done, which my hon. friend has put for me in a sentence. The House has been dissolved, and an Adviser has been sent, so that he may carry on in substance, under your guidance. That is the point. When I say 'Adviser' I weigh my word, and say it. Of course, he does not deal with Parliament directly. He deals with the President and with the Government but we are responsible to you every day. Here four Members are there, and you are here, every question can be put, there can be a debate, there can be a motion for adjournment, or a motion for papers, and every question can be raised.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Dissolve all State Legislatures, and let us take that power.

Dr. Katju: If you say so, I shall do it. But I say, let us begin with Bengal first.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Start with those States where the Congress is in a minority.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members—both of them—may kindly address the Chair.

Shri Sarangadhar Das: After the resignation of Rarewala, did not the

[Shri Sarangadhar Das]

United Front Party elect a new leader to form a new Government?

Dr. Katju: I read in the papers that the party was dissolved.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Dr. Katju: I read it a day previously in the newspapers that the party had been summoned to elect a leader, but there were two candidates in the field and they could not elect anybody, did not come to any agreed decision and dispersed. I tell you seriously, if you ask Sardar Rarewala privately, probably, he will be thankful that I have put him out of a great embarrassment. I say this deliberately because there were forces inside which were pushing each other in such a divergent manner that he was put in great difficulty himself.

Anyway, I do not want to go further. I just want to conclude this by repeating once again and appealing particularly to my Sikh friends on this side, the whole House, outside the House and in PEPSU—do not at least consider as if it were a reflection upon you. The President's rule is not going to be a sort of permanent thing. We do not want it. If the Delimitation Commission had not been in between, we might have had an election in four months. But now the Delimitation Commission is functioning and under the Parliamentary statute we cannot have a reelection or a General election till the Commission reports. That may be a matter of months. But we want to let the people take over the management of their own affairs and in the course of six months hand over to you a purified administration so that people could go about in a sense of security and work in their villages. And they can undergo the pangs of a General Election completely in a free and unfettered manner. That is the truth of the case and that is the assurance that I want to give to everybody.

Before I sit down, as regards the many amendments that have been moved, of course, I would oppose them. But one amendment has been moved by my hon. friend, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava. It is purely a technical matter.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Why should you refer to him by name?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I did not object.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: In principle.

Dr. Katju: What he says is that the resolution should have contained a declaration that the powers of the Legislature of the said State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament. What we thought was that the short resolution covered the whole field. But if Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava, for whose legal knowledge I have great reverence, thinks that it is desirable that we should have it I have no objection. I shall accept it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I will first put Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava's amendment to vote and then the other amendments.

The question is.

That at the end of the resolution the following be added:

> "declaring that the powers of the Legislature of the said State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament and making certain incidental and consequential provisions detailed in the said Proclamation".

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, as regards the other amendments, the one standing in the name of Sardar Lal Singh....

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: We will divide only on the main resolution.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right.

The question is:

That for the original resolution the following be substituted:

> "That this House disapproves the action of the Government of India in suspending the Constitution in Patiala and East Punjab States Union and looks upon the assumption of all the functions of the Government of Patiala and East Punjab States Union by the President as unwarranted, undemocratic and unconstitutional."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

That in the resolution—

(i) for the word "approves" the words "takes into consideration" be substituted; and

(ii) at the end, the following be added:

"and resolves that the President be requested to suspend the Rajapramukh of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union".

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is.

That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"and resolves that it shall not be lawful for the President to act to any extent through the Rajapramukh of that State and that all the functions of the Government of PEPSU and all the powers vested in or exercisable by the Rajapramukh of that State under the Constitution or under any law in force in that State, shall, subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the President, be exercised by the Adviser appointed by the President in this behalf".

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is.

That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"and resolves that the General Election for constituting the new Assembly for the said State shall be held before 31st July, 1953 irrespective of the final order of the Delimitation Commission".

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, I will put the resolution as amended to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on 4th March 1953 under article 356 of the Constitution, assuming to himself all the functions of the Government of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union, declaring that the powers of the Legislature of the said State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament and making certain incidental and consequential provisions detailed in the said Proclamation".

Those in favour will kindly say 'Aye'.

Several Hon. Members: 'Aye'.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will say 'No'.

Several Hon. Members: 'No'.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The 'Ayes' have it. The 'Ayes' have it.

Several Hon. Members: The 'Noes' have it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: hTe House will divide.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: On a point of crder, Sir. Those Members who are already standing outside the House cannot vote. You have just said that those who are for or against will go. The others who are already outside the House—they cannot vote. That has been the ruling of previous Speakers. Only those who are inside the House will vote. Lobby is not part of the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No, no. It was never done. The 'Ayes' to the right and 'Noes' to the left.

The House divided: Ayes, 208: *Noes,* 60.

Division No. 3] **AYES** **[7-13 P.M**

Abdus Sattar, Shri	Akarpuri Sardar	Bansal, Shri
Achal Singh, Seth	Alagesan, Shri	Barman, Shri
Achint Ram, Lala	Altekar, Shri	Barupal, Shri
Achuthan, Shri	Alva, Shri Joachim	Basappa, Shri
Agarwal, Prof.	Amrit Kaur, Rajkumari	Bhagat, Shri B. R.
Agarwal, Shri H. L.	Asthana, Shri	Bhargava, Pandit M. B.
Agrawal, Shri M. L.	Balasubramaniam, Shri	Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Da

Bawanji, Shri
Bheekha Bhai, Shri
Bhonsle, Major-General
Birbal Singh, Shri
Borooah, Shri
Bose, Shri P. C.
Brohmo-Choudhury, Shri
Buragohain, Shri
Chanda, Shri Anil K.
Chandak, Shri
Chandrasekhar, Shrimati
Charak, Shri
Chatterjee, Dr. Susilranjan
Chaturvedi, Shri
Chinaria, Shri
Chaudhri, Shri M. Shaffee
Dabhi, Shri
Damodaran, Shri G. R.
Das, Dr. M. M.
Das, Shri B.
Das, Shri B. K.
Das, Shri Ram Dhani
Das, Shri S. N.
Das Shri N.T.
Datar, Shri
Deb. Shri S. C.
Desai, Shri K. K.
Deshpande, Shri G. H.
Pholakia, Shri
Dhusiya, Shri
Dube, Shri Mulchand
Dube, Shri U. S.
Dutt, Shri A. K.
Dutta, Shri S. K.
Dwivedi, Shri D. P.
Dwivedi, Shri M. L.
Ebanezer, Dr.
Elayaperumal, Shri
Fotedar, Pandit
Gandhi , Shri M. M.
Garg, Shri R. P.
Ghulam Qader, Shri
Gopi Ram, Shri
Gounder, Shri K. P.
Gounder, Shri K. S.
Hari Mohan, Dr.
Hasarika, Shri J. N.
Heda, Shri
Hem Raj, Shri
Hembrom, Shri
Iyyani, Shri E.
Jajware, Shri
Jangde,Shri
Jayashri, Shrimati
Jena, Shri K. C.
Jena, Shri Niranjan
Jha, Shri Bhagwat
Joshi, Shri Jethalal
Joshi, Shri M. D.
Joshi, Shri N. L.
Jwala Prashad Shri
Kakkan, Shri
Kamaraj, Shri
Kambe, Shri
Katju, Dr.
Kazmi, Shri
Keshavaiengar, Shri
Khan, Shri Sadath Ali
Khedkar, Shri G. B.
Khongmen, Shrimati
Khuda Baksh, Shri M.
Kirolikar, Shri
Krishnamachari, Shri T. T.
Krishnappa, Shri M. V.
Lal, Shri R.
Lotan Ram, Shri
Mahodaya, Shri
Maitra, Pandit L. K.
Majhi, Shri R. C.
Majithia, Sardar
Malaviya, Shri K. D.
Malliah, Shri U. S.
Malviya, Shri Motilal
Mandal, Dr. P.
Masuodi, Maulana
Masuriya Din, Shri
Mathew, Prof.
Matthen, Shri
Mehta, Shri A. L.
Mehta, Shri Balwant Sinha
Mehta, Shri B. G.
Mishra, Shri Bibhuti
Mishra, Shri L. N.
Mishra, Shri Lokenath
Misra, Pandit Lingaraj
Misra, Shri R. D.
Mohd. Akbar, Sofi
Morarka, Shri
More, Shri K. L.
Mudaliar, Shri C. R.
Mukne, Shri Y. M.
Musafir, Giani G. S.
Namdhari, Shri
Narasimhan, Shri C. R.
Naskar, Shri P. S.
Natawadkar, Shri
Nehru, Shri Jawaharlal
Nehru, Shrimati Uma
Pannalal, Shri
Pant, Shri D. D.
Pataskar, Shri
Patel, Shri B. K.
Patel, Shrimati Maniben
Pawar, Shri V. P.
Prabhakar, Shri N.
Prasad, Shri H. S.
Rachiah, Shri N.
Radha Raman, Shri
Raghubir Sahai, Shri
Raghubir Singh, Ch.
Raghunath Singh, Shri
Raghuramaiah, Shri
Raj Bahadur, Shri
Ram Dass, Shri
Ramananda Tirtha, Swami
Ramaswamy, Shri P.
Ramaswamy, Shri S. V
Ranbir Singh, Ch.
Rane, Shri,
Raut, Shri Bhola
Reddy, Shri Janardhan
Roy, Shri B. N.
Rup Narain, Shri
Sahu, Shri Bhagabat
Sahu, Shri Rameshwar
Saigal, Sardar A. S.
Saksena, Shri Mohanlal
Samanta, Shri S. C.
Sanganna, Shri
Sankarapandian, Shri
Satish Chandra, Shri
Satyawadi, Dr.
Sen, Shrimati Sushama
Sewal, Shri A. R.
Shah, Shri R. B.
Sharma, Pandit K. C.
Sharma, Prof. D. C.
Sharma, Shri K. R.
Sharma, Shri R. C.
Shivananjappa, Shri
Shobha Ram, Shri
Sidhananjappa, Shri
Singh, Shri D. N.
Singh, Shri H. P.
Singh, Shri L. J.
Singh, Shri M. N.
Singh, Shri T. N.
Sinha, Dr. S. N.
Sinha, Shri G. P.
Sinha, Shri Jhulan
Sinha, Shri K. P.
Sinha, Shrimati Tarkeshwari
Sinhasan Singh, Shri
Snatak, Shri
Somana, Shri N.
Subrahmanyam, Shri T.
Suresh Chandra, Dr.
Suriya Prashad, Shri
Telkikar, Shri
Tewari, Sardar R. B. S.
Thimmaiah, Shri
Thomas, Shri A. M.
Thomas, Shri A. V.
Tiwari, Pandit B. L.
Tiwari, Shri R. S.
Tiwary, Pandit D. N.
Tripathi, Shri H. V.
Tudu, Shri B. L.
Upadhyay, Shri Shiva Daya
Upadhayaya, Shri S. D.
Vaishnay, Shri H. C.
Vaishya, Shri M. B.
Vidyalankar, Shri
Vishwanath Prasad, shri
Vyas, Seri Radhelal
Wilson, Shri J. N.
Wodeyar, Shri

NOES

Achala hr	Jayaraman, Shri	Punnoose, Shri
Ajit Singh, Shr	Kelappan, Shri	Raghabachari, Shri
Amjad Ali, Shri	Khardekar, Shri	Raghavaiah, Shri
Anthony, Shri Frank	Khare, Dr. N. B.	Ramasami, Shri M. D.
Bahadur Singh, Shri	Kripalani, Shrimati Sucheta	Ramaseshaiah, Shri
Barrow, Shri	Krishna, Shri M. R.	Ranjit Singh, Shri
Basu, Shri K. K.	Krishnaswami, Dr.	Rao, Dr. Rama
Biren Dutt, Shri	Lal Singh, Sardar	Rao, Shri Gopala
Chakravartty, Shrimati Renu	Mathuram, Dr.	Rao, Shri K. S.
Chatterjea, Shri Tushar	Mehta, Shri Jaswant Raj	Rao, Shri Vittal
Damodaran, Shri N. P.	Mishra, Pandit S. C.	Reddi, Shri Ramachandra
Das, Shri B. C.	Mookerjee, Dr. S. P.	Reddy, Shri Eswara
Das, Shri Sarangadhar	Mukerjee, Shri H. N.	Saha, Shri Meghnad
Deo, Shri R. N. S.	More, Shri S. S.	Sen, Shri R. C.
Deogam, Shri	Muniswamy, Shri	Shakuntala, Shrimati
Deshpande, Shri V. G.	Murthy, Shri B. S.	Singh, Shri G. S.
Gidwani, Shri	Nambiar, Shri	Singh, Shri R. N.
Gurupadaswamy, Shri	Nanadas, Shri	Soren, Shri
Jaipal Singh, Shri	Nayar, Shri V. P.	Vallatharas, Shri
Jatav-vir, Shri	Pandey, Dr. Natabar	Veeraswami, Shri

The motion was adopted.

The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Friday, the 13th March, 1963